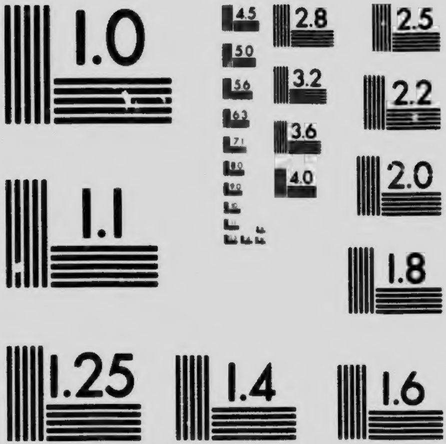

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THE DIALOGUS OF PUBLIUS CORNELIUS TACITUS

TRANSLATED BY WILLIAM PETERSON, HONORARY DOCTOR OF LETTERS IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD, PRINCIPAL OF McGILL UNIVERSITY, MONTREAL

INTRODUCTION

Every one knows by what a slender thread of transmission some of the greatest of the literary monuments of antiquity have come down to modern times. This is especially the case with the minor works of Tacitus. They have long been known to depend on a single manuscript, and it is part of the romance of their rediscovery that a portion of that manuscript came to light again only ten years ago in a small Italian town.

The first trace of the existence of such a MS. occurs towards the end of the y[illegible] when we find Poggio rejoicing in the offer [illegible] been made him by a Hersfeld monk of a [illegible] containing certain unknown works of Tacitus. *aliqua opera Cornelii Taciti nobis ignota.* But the volume never arrived, and Poggio left Rome (1452) without the sight of it. In the interval, however, the Hersfeld brother crossed the Alps more than once again, and in the course of telling him what he thought of him for his failure to fulfil his promise, Poggio may have been able to get the facts about the book he had so greatly coveted. In any case, its recovery followed a few years before Poggio's death. It was in 1451 that Enoch of Ascoli was sent into Northern Europe by Pope Nicholas V to search for Greek and Latin books, and notwithstanding the scepticism of some scholars, it has long been a generally received tradition that it is to this mission of Enoch's that

we owe the recovery of the lost works of Tacitus. Till recently it was understood that what he brought back with him to Rome in 1455 was only a copy of the Hersfeld original. But here comes in an instance of the gradual growth of knowledge.

When it fell to me to edit the *Dialogus* for the Oxford Press (1893) I called attention to a neglected but not unimportant codex now in the British Museum, which contains at the end of the Suetonius fragment *De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus*—a treatise generally found in fifteenth-century MSS. bound up with the *Dialogus* and the *Germania*—the words *Hic antiquissimum exemplar finit et hoc integrum videtur.*[1] The obvious inference from this note was that, instead of being copied by or for Enoch at Hersfeld, the *antiquissimum exemplar* had actually made its way from Hersfeld to Italy, where as a matter of fact several MSS. of the minor works of Tacitus were produced after the year 1460. Confirmation of this suggestion came to hand when Sabbadini announced, in 1901, the discovery in an Ambrosian MS. of certain references which Pier Candido Decembrio (1399–1477) had entered in his diary, describing a manuscript which he says he had actually seen and handled at Rome in the year 1455, and which contained, in the following order, (1) the *Germania,* (2) the *Agricola,* (3) the *Dialogus,* and (4) the *Suetonius* fragment. And the sequel is even more remarkable. At the International Congress of Historians held at Rome in 1903, intimation was made of the discovery in the library of Count Guglielmi-Balleani at Iesi, in the district of Ancona, of a fifteenth-century codex in which is incorporated a portion (one whole quater-

[1] "Here the very ancient codex comes to an end, and this treatise appears to be complete."

nion) of the *Agricola* from the *antiquissimum exemplar* (tenth century) that Enoch brought from Hersfeld.[1]

The critical problems, such as they are, that have been raised by these discoveries cannot be dealt with here at any length. They centre mainly round the *Dialogus*. It is a testimony to the general faithfulness of the tradition that the text of the *Germania* and the *Agricola* remains on the whole undisturbed. And even for the *Dialogus* the main surviving difficulty turns not so much on textual problems as on the allocation of their parts to the various speakers, and the length of the great lacuna at the end of ch. 35. It is with the *Dialogus* that I must concern myself in the remainder of this brief introduction.

Though its authorship was long considered doubtful, the *Dialogus* is now generally accepted as a genuine work of Tacitus. An obvious discrepancy of style[2] is the only argument that might seem to lead to an opposite conclusion. But, on the other hand, the testimony of the MSS. is unanimous; the general point of view of the writer largely coincides with that of Tacitus as known by his historical works; and there are even striking points of resemblance in diction, syntax, and phraseology. Some recent critics wish to put the date of the publication of the *Dialogus* as late as A.D. 95, or

1 See Annibaldi, *L'Agricola e La Germania di Cornelio Tacito nel ms. Latino N 8 della biblioteca del Conte G-Balleani in Iesi, Citta di Castello*, 1907, and the same editor's *La Germania* (Leipzig, 1910): also Wissowa's preface to the Leyden facsimile (Sijthoff, Leyden, 1907).

2 The case of Carlyle has sometimes been cited as a parallel. Speaking of the difference of style between the *Life of Schiller* and the *Diamond Necklace*, Huxley says he often wondered whether if they had come down to us as anonymous ancient manuscripts, "the demonstration that they were written by different persons might not have been quite easy." —*Nineteenth Century*, 1894, p. 4.

even A.D. 97–98 (*i.e.* after Domitian's death), arguing that it shows so many signs of acquaintance with Quintilian's *Institutio* that it cannot have been published before that work, which appeared in A.D. 94–95. But it is impossible to believe that the historian can have written the *Dialogus* as a sort of separate effort, in imitation of Cicero, at the very time when the style which is his most notable characteristic must have taken on the features which it reveals in his next work, the *Agricola*. It seems much more probable that a long interval elapsed between the composition of the *Dialogus* and the date at which, two years after the close of Domitian's sombre reign, Tacitus penned the biography of the great soldier whose son-in-law he was (A.D. 98). In the earlier treatise the author seeks to embody the results of those literary and rhetorical studies by which, following the usual practice of the period, he had prefaced his career at the bar. It must have been written either in the reign of Titus (A.D. 78–81), or in the early years of Domitian's principate. The only difficulty of the former alternative, which is adopted by those who believe that Tacitus did not break the silence which he is known to have imposed on himself under Domitian, is that it gives an interval of no more than seven years from the dramatic date of the debate [1] to which the future historian says he listened when "quite a young man" (*iuvenis admodum*). But

[1] That Tacitus intended his readers to conceive the *Dialogue*, so far as it had any foundation in fact, as having taken place in the sixth year of Vespasian's reign, say in the middle or towards the end of A.D. 74, is fairly obvious from the historical references in ch. 17. There is really no inconsistency in the calculation of 120 years from the death of Cicero, though that would bring us strictly to A.D. 77, instead of 74: "*centum*

at that time of life even seven years represent a great development, and the first alternative remains the more probable of the two. On the other hand, we may take the view, if we prefer it, that Tacitus had failed to discern Domitian's true character in the first years of his principate, or that he had the courage deliberately to speak out about men like Vibius Crispus, who, after gaining a bad reputation under Nero and Vespasian, still survived in the reign of their successors, while not failing at the same time to give expression to an ingenuous appreciation of the advantages inherent in the imperial system. On this supposition we may put the date of the composition of the *Dialogus* as late as A.D. 84–85, when the author would be nearly thirty years of age.

The real subject of the treatise, which is the decadence and dethronement of eloquence, is dealt with in chs. 28–41. What goes before is introductory. To begin with, there is the section (chs. 1–4) which describes the circumstances in which the conversation narrated is pictured as having taken place. The scene is laid in the house of the poet-pleader Maternus,[1] who is obviously intended to figure as the leading personage of the piece. Following the introduction comes the first part of the *Dialogue* proper (chs. 5–13), in which Marcus Aper, a self-made man from Gaul, and now one of the most distinguished leaders of the bar, champions

et viginti anni" is no doubt given as a round figure to represent the outside limit recognised in antiquity for the duration of a human life—"*unius hominis aetas*."

1 As was probably the case with all the other interlocutors, Maternus was dead when Tacitus wrote. He had achieved fame under Nero (A.D. 54–68) for a tragedy which he tells us "broke the power of Vatinius" (ch. 11), and has now resolved to forsake the bar in favour of the Muses.

the profession of oratory against that form of *eloquentia* which finds utterance in poetry. Aper is realistic, practical, and utilitarian. His attitude is in effective contrast to that of Maternus, whose short reply (chs. 11-13) is an eloquent revelation not only of a different point of view in regard to the question at issue, but of another way of looking on life. The leading note in the character of Maternus is moral earnestness. With him the practical advantages on which Aper had dwelt are of little weight: he is meditative, reflective, and idealistic. The second part (chs. 14-27) begins with the entrance of Vipstanus Messalla, a man of noble birth and wide accomplishments, who is known to us from the *Histories* (3, 9) as having thrown the weight of his great influence and high personal character into the scale in favour of Vespasian against Vitellius. This part again contains two speeches, one by Aper, the other by Messalla. The former challenges the newcomer to show cause for his well-known preference for the oratory of former days, and for his habitual disparagement of contemporary eloquence. As for himself, Aper does not admit any decadence or decline. The difference between "old" and "new" is to him only a relative difference, and should even be considered, in view of changed conditions, a mark of progress. Messalla, on the other hand, is the champion of antiquity, a "convinced classicist," and his rejoinder (chs. 25-27) consists in a vigorous vindication of the "ancients" and a counter-attack on the "moderns." He is proceeding to cite examples when Maternus breaks in to remind his visitor that the subject on which he had undertaken to speak was not the fact of the decline of eloquence, but the reasons underlying it. These, Messalla says,

are quite obvious. The prime cause, according to him, is the laxity and indifference which nowadays prevail in connection with the training of the young, offering a strong contrast to the careful methods of former times (chs. 28–32). Then there is the superficial training in the practice of declamation, with its fictitious cases and unreal atmosphere (chs. 33–35).[1]

Here Messalla's speech breaks off abruptly, and the problems of the *Dialogue* begin. A great gap occurs in the MSS., which cannot have exceeded in extent one-fourth of the whole treatise, while it may have been less. We have lost in this lacuna the closing portion of Messalla's discourse, and in all probability a contribution also from Secundus.[2] When the text resumes we find a new speaker in possession of the debate, who to all outward appearance is Maternus. The MSS. give chs. 36–41 as one continuous whole, and there is nothing to disconnect the discourse from the words *Finierat Maternus*, with which the last chapter opens. But there are difficulties. It is urged that if chs. 36–41 are a continuous, they are at least not an artistic whole; that, in fact, Maternus repeats himself unnecessarily and even contradicts himself; and,

[1] See the interesting paper on "Declamations under the Empire" by Professor Summers in vol. x of the *Proceedings of the Classical Association* (January 1913), pp. 87–102.

[2] Julius Secundus is known to us from Quintilian (10, 1, 120: 3, 12) as an eloquent speaker, who lacked, however, the qualities of spontaneity and force. It is not out of keeping with his retiring disposition that, though he figures so prominently in what may be called the setting of the stage for the *Dialogue*, he is not mentioned in the last chapter. He has compliments for Aper as well as for Maternus at the end of the first act (ch. 14), but as regards the real issue discussed in chs. 28–41, there was probably little to differentiate him from Maternus.

further, that the first part of his speech would be more appropriate in the mouth of Secundus. It is quite probable, as already stated, that something from Secundus may have fallen out in the great lacuna, but I still adhere to the traditional view which gives chs. 36–41 to Maternus, the leading character of the piece. The attempt to split up these chapters, assigning 36–40, 8 to Secundus, and the rest (after a second lacuna) to Maternus, does not seem either necessary or defensible.[1] Throughout the whole section the last speaker is dealing, not with the moral decadence to which Messalla had addressed himself, but with the changed conditions of public life, in which he finds an additional reason for the decline of eloquence. His point of view is that while republican conditions were more favourable to oratory, as had been the case also in Greece, yet there are

[1] I refer in particular to Gudeman's recent effort (*Classical Philology*, October 1912) to utilise the new manuscript evidence in support of the theory of a second lacuna. The note in Decembrio's diary tells us that after the great gap at the end of ch. 35 the Hersfeld archetype still possessed "*folia duo cum dimidio*" of the *Dialogus*, *i.e.* five pages. Four of these pages Gudeman seeks to show would be exactly taken up by the text as we have it from the beginging of ch. 36 to the point (40, 8) at which another folio is supposed to have been lost—on the assumption that the character of the writing was the same for these pages as it is in the *Agricola* quaternion now surviving in the codex at Iesi. This assumption can be shown, however, to be unfounded, and the theory is further negatived by the fact that the remainder of the text after 40, 8 would require *two* pages more instead of the *one* indicated by Decembrio. The view that what the manuscripts give as a continuous speech by Maternus should be divided into two parts must continue to rest on internal evidence only. See my article in the *American Journal of Philology*, January–March 1913 (xxxiv. 1), pp. 1–14; also G. Andresen in the *Wochenschrift f. klass. Philologie*, February 10, 1913.

compensatory advantages under a more stable form of government. It is with this consoling reflection that he begins what is left of his discourse, and with this he also ends. Eloquence thrives, he says, on disorder, and though there may have been more oratorical vigour under republican conditions, the country had a heavy price to pay in the revolutionary legislation of the Gracchi and in the death of Cicero. The settled calm that now pervades the State is a great compensation for any restrictions upon the sphere of public speaking, and for this we ought to be thankful.

To these representations Messalla would have liked to make a further reply in his capacity of *laudator temporis acti*. But Maternus promises him another opportunity and the meeting is adjourned.

As already stated, Maternus is undoubtedly put forward as the protagonist in the whole discussion. It is he who guides and directs the development of the debate, speaking for Secundus as well as for himself in ch. 16, bringing the real issue into relief in ch. 24, recalling Messalla to his text in ch. 27, and prevailing on him to make a new departure in ch. 33. Maternus is retiring from the profession partly because he has a personal preference for poetry, which he regards as a superior form of utterance (*eloquentia*), and partly because of the narrower limits with which forensic oratory has to content itself now as contrasted with former times. It is his attitude that takes the discussion beyond the bounds set for it in the question which in his very first sentence Tacitus tells us was so often put to him by his friend Fabius Justus. For himself, Maternus needs no proof of the superiority of the "ancients" (24, 11 : 27, 5). At his hands the

representative of modern rhetoric suffers two discomfitures,—once in the discussion on the comparative merits of poetry and oratory, and again in the debate on the "old" and the "new."

The length of his closing speech need not excite any surprise when it is remembered that he is in his own house, and that his note is the reconciliation of opposing tendencies. Moreover it is fairly obvious that Maternus is to be regarded as giving expression to the convictions held by the author of the *Dialogus* himself. The changed conditions both of public life and of forensic practice must have meant a good deal for both of them, and in his resolution no longer to suppress the personal preference he entertained for poetry and the muses, the poet-pleader naturally had the support of the future historian.

It is accordingly in the character of Maternus-Tacitus that the motive and main purpose of the treatise are to be looked for, and it is from this that the *Dialogus* derives its unity, even in its present somewhat mutilated form. The various interlocutors in the debate present us with an interesting picture of the literary and intellectual conditions prevailing at Rome towards the end of the first century. Though full of problems, some of which have not even yet been fully solved, the treatise to which they contribute their several parts is a work of surpassing interest, which amply deserves all the attention it has received from scholars during the last quarter of a century. The *Dialogus* merits the designation which was applied to it after its reappearance in the world of letters: it is really an *aureolus libellus*.

W. P.

McGill University, Montreal
May 1913

MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS

The text of the *Dialogus*, as also of the *Germania* and the *Agricola*, rests ultimately on the Hersfeld archetype, of which some account has been given in the foregoing Introduction. So far as the *Dialogus* is concerned, this original was transcribed by two copyists whose versions (now no longer extant) stand respectively at the head of what are known as the X family and the Y family, the former consisting of the *Vaticanus* 1862 (A) and the *Leidensis* (B), the latter comprising practically all other codd. The question has been much debated which of these two groups contains the more faithful reproduction of the archetype. Ritter (1848) was the first to use the *Leidensis* for the constitution of his text, and twenty years later Michaelis, following Nipperdey, relied mainly on the *Vaticanus*, holding that these two codd. had together preserved the better tradition. His conclusions were disputed by Scheuer (see the Introduction to my edition published by the Oxford Press, pp. lxxxii–lxxxix), and recent editors incline to rely as fully on Y as on X. In my note on the great lacuna (No. 56, p. 142) I take account of the fact that the extracts from Decembrio's diary are in favour of Y. But it seems safer, for reasons given elsewhere, to adhere to an eclectic method of criticism as between the two families. If any portion of the *Dialogus* had been contained in the quaternion of the Hersfeld archetype which came

to light again so recently at Iesi, the question might have been more definitely settled. But it has nothing except a part of the *Agricola*, and as that treatise does not occur either in the *Vaticanus* or the *Leidensis* we have no adequate basis of comparison. It is significant also that the *Agricola* is not included in the *editio princeps*, published at Venice in 1470 by Vendelin de Spira (editio Spirensis). Obviously this treatise had been dissevered from the Hersfeld codex not long after its reappearance at Rome, and those into whose hands it passed were not prepared at once to make it common property.

After the first edition, the text of the *Dialogus* owed most of its advances, among others, to Puteolanus, who published his first edition at Milan in 1475, and his second at Venice in 1497; Beroaldus (1514); Beatus Rhenanus (1519 and 1533); Lipsius, who brought a new manuscript belonging to the Y family (the *Farnesianus*) into play for his great edition produced at Antwerp in 1574, and reissued nine successive times up to the last Leyden reprint in 1607; Pithoeus, whose third edition appeared at Paris in 1604; Pichena (1607); Gruter (1607); J. Gronovius (1672); Heumann (1719); Ernesti (1752); Brotier (1771); Schulze (1788); Dronke (1828); Orelli (1830); Bekker (1831); Ritter (1848); and Haase (1855).

Of these, Ritter was the first to use the *codex Leidensis*, discovered by Tross in 1841, and fortunately to-day available for students in a facsimile reproduction (Sijthoff, Leyden, 1907). In the same way Ad. Michaelis, following Massmann and Nipperdey, gave a prominent place to the other member of the X family (the *Vaticanus*), and made at the same time (1868) a scientific statement of the interrelationships of all the codd.

MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS

Since Michaelis, and apart from complete editions of the works of Tacitus like those of Halm (fourth edition, 1889) and Müller (1887), the following separate editions of the *Dialogus* may be specially mentioned:

Peter (Jena, 1877).
Baehrens (Leipzig, 1881).
Orelli-Andresen (Berlin, 1884).
Goelzer (Paris, 1887; second edition, but practically unchanged, 1910).
Novak (Prague, 1889).
Valmaggi (Turin, 1890).
Wolff (Gotha, 1890).
Andresen (third edition, Leipzig, 1891).
Peterson (Oxford, 1893).
Bennett (Boston, 1894).
Gudeman (Boston, 1894; smaller edition, 1898).
C. John (Berlin, 1899).
Schone (Dresden, 1899).
H. Röhl (Leipzig, 1911).

The text adopted in this volume is not identical with any previously published. In minor matters of orthography and punctuation I have been guided by the same principles as those which were followed in my edition in the Clarendon Press Series, but otherwise there are important variations and divergences. In several passages both text and interpretation may be said to have gained something from further study. My notes have been limited, in the main, to what I may call residual difficulties. As for the text, it may fairly be regarded, after all the work done by critics and commentators during the last quarter of a century, as embodying as great a degree of finality as is at present attainable.

W. P.

Oratio autem, sicut corpus hominis, ea demum pulchra est in qua non eminent venae nec ossa numerantur, sed temperatus ac bonus sanguis implet membra et exsurgit toris ipsosque nervos rubor tegit et decor commendat.

Ch. 21, *ad fin.*

Ego autem oratorem, sicut locupletem ac lautum patrem familae, non eo tantum volo tecto tegi quod imbrem ac ventum arceat, sed etiam quod visum et oculos delectet; non ea solum instrui supellectile quae necessariis usibus sufficiat, sed sit in apparatu eius et aurum et gemmae, ut sumere in manus, ut aspicere saepius libeat.

Ch. 22, *ad fin.*

Neque oratoris vis et facultas, sicut ceterarum rerum, angustis et brevibus terminis cluditur, sed is est orator qui de omni quaestione pulchre et ornate et ad persuadendum apte dicere pro dignitate rerum, ad utilitatem temporum, cum voluptate audientium possit.

Ch. 30, *ad fin.*

Nam quo modo nobiles equos cursus et spatia probant, sic est aliquis oratorum campus, per quem nisi liberi et soluti ferantur debilitatur ac frangitur eloquentia.

Ch. 39.

DIALOGVS DE ORATORIBVS

This copy of the *Dialogue on Oratory* is printed for private circulation only.

Oratio autem, sicut corpus hominis, ea demum pulchra est in qua non eminent venae nec ossa numerantur, sed temperatus ac bonus sanguis implet membra et exsurgit toris ipsosque nervos rubor tegit et decor commendat.

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Ch. 22, *ad fin.*

Neque oratoris vis et facultas, sicut ceterarum rerum, angustis et brevibus terminis cluditur, sed is

DIALOGVS DE ORATORIBVS

P. CORNELII TACITI

DIALOGVS DE ORATORIBVS

1 SAEPE ex me requiris, Iuste Fabi, cur, cum priora saecula tot eminentium oratorum ingeniis gloriaque floruerint, nostra potissimum aetas deserta et laude eloquentiae orbata vix nomen ipsum oratoris retineat; neque enim ita appellamus nisi antiquos, horum autem temporum diserti causidici et advocati et patroni et quidvis potius quam oratores vocantur. Cui percontationi tuae respondere et tam magnae quaestionis pondus excipere ut aut de ingeniis nostris male existimandum *sit*, si idem adsequi non possumus, aut de iudiciis, si nolumus, vix hercule auderem, si mihi mea sententia proferenda ac non disertissimorum, ut nostris temporibus, hominum sermo repetendus esset, quos eandem hanc quaestionem pertractantes iuvenis admodum audivi. Ita non ingenio, sed memoria et recordatione opus est, ut quae a praestantissimis viris et excogitata subtiliter et dicta graviter accepi, cum singuli diversas quidem sed probabiles causas adferrent, dum formam sui quisque et

P. CORNELIUS TACITUS

A DIALOGUE ON ORATORY

Dear Justus Fabius,—There is a question that you often put to me. How is it that, whereas former ages were so prolific of great orators, men of genius and renown, on our generation a signal blight has fallen: it lacks distinction in eloquence, and scarce retains so much as the name of 'orator,' which we apply exclusively to the men of olden time, calling good speakers of the present day 'pleaders,' 'advocates,' 'counsel,'—anything rather than 'orators.' To attempt an answer to your conundrum is to take up a difficult investigation, involving this grave dilemma: either it is want of ability that keeps us from rising to the same high standard, in which case we must think meanly of our powers, or it is want of will, and in that event we shall have to condemn our taste. Such an attempt I should really scarce presume to make, if it were my own views that I had to put forward, instead of reproducing a conversation between certain persons,—very good speakers, according to our present-day standards,—whom I listened to when quite a youth as they held high debate over this very issue. So it is not intellectual ability that I require, but only power of memory, in order now to recount the sagacious thoughts and the weighty utterances which I heard

animi et ingenii redderent, isdem nunc numeris isdemque rationibus persequar, servato ordine disputationis. Neque enim defuit qui diversam quoque partem susciperet, ac multum vexata et inrisa vetustate nostrorum temporum eloquentiam antiquorum ingeniis anteferret.

2 Nam postero die quam Curiatius Maternus Catonem recitaverat, cum offendisse potentium animos diceretur, tamquam in eo tragoediae argumento sui oblitus tantum Catonem cogitasset, eaque de re per urbem frequens sermo haberetur, venerunt ad eum Marcus Aperet Iulius Secundus, celeberrima tum ingenia fori nostri, quos ego utrosque non modo in iudiciis studiose audiebam, sed domi quoque et in publico adsectabar mira studiorum cupiditate et quodam ardore iuvenili, ut fabulas quoque eorum et disputationes et arcana semotae dictionis penitus exciperem, quamvis maligne plerique opinarentur nec Secundo promptum esse sermonem et Aprum ingenio potius et vi naturae quam institutione et litteris famam eloquentiae consecutum. Nam et Secundo purus et pressus et, in quantum satis erat, profluens sermo non defuit, et Aper omni eruditione imbutus contemnebat potius

from the lips of those eminent men, reproducing the same divisions and the same arguments. The explanations which they severally offered, though discrepant, had each something to recommend it, and in putting them forward the speaker reflected in every case his individual way of thinking and feeling. I shall adhere moreover to the order in which they actually spoke. For the opposite point of view also found a champion in one who, roundly abusing the old order of things, and holding it up to ridicule, exalted the eloquence of our own times above the genius of the past.

It was the day following that on which Curiatius Maternus had given a reading of his 'Cato,' when court circles were said to have taken umbrage at the way in which he had thrown himself in the play heart and soul into the rôle of Cato, with never a thought of himself. The thing was the talk of the town, and Maternus had a call from Marcus Aper and Julius Secundus, then the leading lights of the bar at Rome. Of both of them I can say that,—being passionately fond of rhetorical studies, and fired with youthful enthusiasm,—I made a practice not only of listening attentively to their pleadings in court, but also of attaching myself to them at their homes and attending them out of doors. I wanted to drink in their casual talk as well, and their discussions, and the confidences of their esoteric discourse, notwithstanding the many spiteful critics who held that Secundus was not a ready speaker, and that Aper's title to oratorical renown was based on ability and inborn talent rather than on any literary training. The fact is that Secundus was the master of a style that was idiomatic and precise and fluent enough for his purpose, while Aper was a man of all-round

litteras quam nesciebat, tamquam maiorem industriae et laboris gloriam habiturus si ingenium eius nullis alienarum artium adminiculis inniti videretur.

3 Igitur ut intravimus cubiculum Materni, sedentem ipsumque quem pridie recitaverat librum inter manus habentem deprehendimus.

Tum Secundus "Nihilne te" inquit, "Materne, fabulae malignorum terrent quo minus offensas Catonis tui ames? An ideo librum istum adprehendisti ut diligentius retractares et, sublatis si qua pravae interpretationi materiam dederunt, emitteres Catonem non quidem meliorem, sed tamen securiorem?"

Tum ille: "Leges tu quid [1] Maternus sibi debuerit, et adgnosces quae audisti. Quod si qua omisit Cato, sequenti recitatione Thyestes dicet; hanc enim tragoediam disposui iam et intra me ipse formavi. Atque ideo maturare libri huius editionem festino, ut dimissa priore cura novae cogitationi toto pectore incumbam."

"Adeo te tragoediae istae non satiant," inquit Aper, "quo minus omissis orationum et causarum studiis omne tempus modo circa Medeam, ecce nunc circa Thyestem consumas? cum te tot amicorum

[1] See note 1, p. 131.

learning, who as regards literature was not so much ignorant as disdainful, believing that his industry and application would redound more to his credit if it were thought that his natural talents did not need the prop of any extraneous accomplishments.

Well, on entering Maternus's room we found him sitting with a book in front of him—the very same from which he had given his reading on the previous day; whereupon Secundus said, "Has the talk of your detractors no terrors for you, Maternus? Does it not make you feel less enamoured of that exasperating Cato of yours? Or is it with the idea of going carefully over it that you have taken your drama in hand, intending to cut out any passages that may have given a handle for misrepresentation, and then to publish a new edition of 'Cato,' if not better than the first at least not so dangerous?"

To this he rejoined, "The reading of it will show you what Maternus considered his duty to himself: you will find it just as you heard it read. Yes, and if 'Cato' has left anything unsaid, at my next reading it shall be supplied in my 'Thyestes'; for so I call the tragedy which I have planned and of which I have the outline in my head. It is just because I want to get the first play off my hands and to throw myself whole-heartedly into my new theme that I am hurrying to get this work ready for publication."

"So then," said Aper, "you have not had enough of those tragedies of yours? Otherwise you would not turn your back on your profession of speaker and pleader, and spend your whole time on plays. The other day it was 'Medea' and now it is 'Thyestes'; and all the while you are being clamoured for in the

causae, tot coloniarum et municipiorum clientelae in forum vocent, quibus vix suffeceris, etiam si non novum tibi ipse negotium importasses, Domitium et Catonem, id est nostras quoque historias et Romana nomina, Graeculorum fabulis adgregare[1]."

4 Et Maternus: "Perturbarer hac tua severitate, nisi frequens et adsidua nobis contentio iam prope in consuetudinem vertisset. Nam nec tu agitare et insequi poetas intermittis, et ego, cui desidiam advocationum obicis, cotidianum hoc patrocinium defendendae adversus te poeticae exerceo. Quo laetor magis oblatum nobis iudicem qui me vel in futurum vetet versus facere, vel, quod iam pridem opto, sua quoque auctoritate compellat ut omissis forensium causarum angustiis, in quibus mihi satis superque sudatum est, sanctiorem illam et augustiorem eloquentiam colam."

5 "Ego vero," inquit Secundus, "antequam me iudicem Aper recuset, faciam quod probi et moderati iudices solent, ut in iis cognitionibus excusent[2] in quibus manifestum est alteram apud eos partem gratia praevalere. Quis enim nescit neminem mihi coniunctiorem esse et usu amicitiae et adsiduitate contubernii quam Saleium Bassum, cum optimum

[1] See note 2, p. 131.
[2] See note 3, p. 131.

forum by the long list of your friends' cases, and the equally long list of colonies and country-towns for which you ought to act. Why, you could hardly meet all those calls even if you had not so gratuitously shouldered this new occupation of tacking on to Greekling legends a Domitius and a Cato, that is to say, stories also from our own annals, with Roman names."

"I should be greatly put out by your harsh words," said Maternus, "had not frequent and constant disputation become for us by now almost a second nature. You on your part are never done assailing the poets with your invective, and I, whom you charge with neglect of professional duty, am daily retained to defend the art of poetry against you. This makes me all the more glad that we have here an arbitrator who will either forbid me to write verse in future, or will throw his influence into the scale to make me realise perforce a long-cherished dream, and forsaking the narrow sphere of pleading at the bar, which has taken too much out of me already, cultivate the gift of utterance in its higher and holier form."

"As for me," said Secundus, "before Aper declines to have me as an umpire, I shall follow the usual practice of upright and conscientious judges, who ask to be excused from acting in cases where it is obvious that one of the two parties stands higher in their good graces than the other. Everybody knows that no one is closer to me than Saleius Bassus,[1] an old friend with whom I have enjoyed continuous personal association. Not only is Bassus the best of men but he is also a really ideal poet; so if poetry is

[1] For Saleius Bassus and others mentioned in the text see Index of Proper Names.

virum tum absolutissimum poetam? Porro si poetica accusatur, non alium video reum locupletiorem."

"Securus sit" inquit Aper "et Saleius Bassus et quisquis alius studium poeticae et carminum gloriam fovet, cum causas agere non possit. Et ego enim,[1] quatenus arbitrum litis huius invenimus[2], non patiar Maternum societate plurium defendi, sed ipsum solum apud hos[3] arguam quod natus ad eloquentiam virilem et oratoriam, qua parere simul et tueri amicitias, asciscere necessitudines, complecti provincias possit, omittit studium quo non aliud in civitate nostra vel ad utilitatem fructuosius *vel ad voluptatem iucundius*[4] vel ad dignitatem amplius vel ad urbis famam pulchrius vel ad totius imperii atque omnium gentium notitiam inlustrius excogitari potest.

Nam si ad utilitatem vitae omnia consilia factaque nostra dirigenda sunt, quid est tutius[5] quam eam exercere artem qua semper armatus praesidium amicis, opem alienis, salutem periclitantibus, invidis vero et inimicis metum et terrorem ultro feras, ipse securus et velut quadam perpetua potentia ac potestate munitus? Cuius vis et utilitas rebus

[1] See note 4, p. 131.
[2] See note 5, p. 131.
[3] See note 6, p. 132.
[4] See note 7, p. 132.
[5] See note 8, p. 132.

to be put on her defence, I do not know where you will find a more representative respondent."

"Saleius Bassus may keep his mind at rest," Aper rejoined, "and so may every one who, not being competent for the bar, sets his heart on the pursuit of poetry and on making himself famous by his verse. That the plea of being only one among many should be put forward in defence of Maternus is something that—now that we have found an arbitrator in this suit—I too on my side am not going to allow. No, I shall make him sole defendant, to answer before this court to the charge that, though a born orator and a master of the sturdy kind of eloquence which would enable him to make friendships and preserve them, to form extended connections, and to take whole provinces under his wing, he turns his back on a profession than which you cannot imagine any in the whole country more productive of practical benefits, or that carries with it a sweeter sense of satisfaction, or that does more to enhance a man's personal standing, or that brings more honour and renown here in Rome, or that secures a more brilliant reputation throughout the Empire and in the world at large.

"If practical advantage is to be the rule of all we think and all we do, can there be any safer line to take than the practice of an art which gives you an ever ready weapon with which to protect your friends, to succour those to whom you are a stranger, to bring deliverance to persons in jeopardy, and even to strike fear and terror into the hearts of malignant foes,—while you yourself have no anxiety, entrenched as you are behind a rampart of inalienable authority and power? While things are going well with you, it is in the refuge it affords to others, and in the

prospere fluentibus aliorum perfugio et tutela intellegitur: sin proprium periculum increpuit, non hercule lorica et gladius in acie firmius munimentum quam reo et periclitanti eloquentia, praesidium simul ac telum, quo propugnare pariter et incessere sive in iudicio sive in senatu sive apud principem possis. Quid aliud infestis patribus nuper Eprius Marcellus quam eloquentiam suam opposuit, qui accinctus[1] et minax disertam quidem sed inexercitatam et eius modi certaminum rudem Helvidii sapientiam elusit? Plura de utilitate non dico, cui parti minime contra dicturum Maternum meum arbitror.

6 Ad voluptatem oratoriae eloquentiae transeo, cuius iucunditas non uno aliquo momento, sed omnibus prope diebus ac prope omnibus horis contingit. Quid enim dulcius libero et ingenuo animo et ad voluptates honestas nato quam videre plenam semper et frequentem domum suam concursu splendidissimorum hominum, idque scire non pecuniae, non orbitati, non officii alicuius administrationi, sed sibi ipsi dari? ipsos quin immo orbos et locupletes et potentes venire plerumque ad iuvenem et pauperem, ut aut sua aut amicorum discrimina commendent. Vllane tanta ingentium opum ac magnae potentiae voluptas quam spectare homines veteres et senes et totius orbis

[1] See note 9, p. 133.

protection it gives them, that its efficacy and usefulness are most in evidence; but when danger hurtles round your own head, then surely no sword or buckler in the press of arms gives stouter support than does eloquence to him who is imperilled by a prosecution; for it is a sure defence and a weapon of attack withal, that enables you with equal ease to act on the defensive or to advance to the assault, hether in the law courts, or in the senate house, or in the Emperor's cabinet council. What was it save his eloquence that enabled Eprius Marcellus a short while ago to confront the senate, with every one against him? Ready for the fray and breathing defiance, he could parry the blows of the philosopher Helv·dius, who for all his clever speaking was, as regards that sort of contest, an inexperienced novice. I need say no more under the head of practical advantage, for here my friend Maternus is not at all likely, I take it, to join issue with me.

"I pass to the satisfaction which eloquence affords. It is not for a single instant only that its delights are ours, but almost every day of the week, nay almost every hour of the day. What greater gratification can there be for a free-born gentleman, fashioned by nature for lofty pleasures, than to see his house filled to the door every day with a company of persons of the highest rank, and to know that he owes this compliment not to his wealth, not to his childless condition, not to the fact that he holds some office or other, but to himself? Why, people who have no one to leave their money to, and the rich and the great, are always coming to the barrister, young and poor though he may be, to get him to take up their own cases or those of their friends. Can vast wealth or great power bring with it any satisfaction comparable to the sight of grave

gratia subnixos in summa rerum omnium abundantia confitentes id quod optimum sit se non habere? Iam vero qui togatorum comitatus et egressus! quae in publico species! quae in iudiciis veneratio! quod illud gaudium consurgendi adsistendique inter tacentes et in unum conversos! coire populum et circumfundi coram et accipere adfectum, quemcumque orator induerit! Vulgata dicentium gaudia et imperitorum quoque oculis exposita percenseo: illa secretiora et tantum ipsis orantibus nota maiora sunt. Sive accuratam meditatamque profert orationem, est quoddam sicut ipsius dictionis, ita gaudii pondus et constantia; sive novam et recentem curam non sine aliqua trepidatione animi attulerit, ipsa sollicitudo commendat eventum et lenocinatur voluptati. Sed extemporalis audaciae atque ipsius temeritatis vel praecipua iucunditas est; nam *in* ingenio quoque, sicut in agro, quamquam *grata quae* diu serantur atque elaborentur,[1] gratiora tamen quae sua sponte nascuntur.

7 Equidem, ut de me ipso fatear, non eum diem laetiorem egi quo mihi latus clavus oblatus est, vel quo homo novus et in civitate minime favorabili natus quaesturam aut tribunatum aut praeturam accepi,

[1] See note 10, p. 133.

and reverend seniors, men with the whole world at their feet, freely owning that, though in circumstances of the utmost affluence, they lack the greatest gift of all? Just look, again, at the imposing retinue of clients that follows you when you leave your house! What a brave show you make out of doors! What an amount of deference is paid to you in the law courts! What a supreme delight it is to gather yourself to your feet, and to take your stand before a hushed audience, that has eyes only for you! And the growing crowd streams round about the speaker, and takes on any mood in which he may care to wrap himself, as with a cloak. It is the notorious delights of speech-making that I am enumerating,—those that are full in view even of the uninitiated; but there is far more in those that are not so obvious, and that are known only to the orator himself. If he comes out with an elaborate oration which has been carefully rehearsed, his feeling of satisfaction, like the discourse itself, has about it something solid and abiding; if again he happens to produce—not without a feeling of nervousness—some new composition, just off the stocks, his very anxiety deepens the impression produced and enhances the joy of success. But quite the most exquisite delight comes from speaking extempore, in bold fashion and even with a touch of daring; for the domain of intellect is like a piece of ground under tillage,—though you find pleasure in what takes a long time to sow and cultivate, yet the growth that comes by nature is more pleasing still.

"Let me make this avowal about my own case. The day on which I was invested with the robe of a senator, or that on which I was elected quaestor, or tribune, or praetor, though a man of new birth and a native

quam eos quibus mihi pro mediocritate huius quantulaecumque in dicendo facultatis aut reum prospere defendere, aut apud centumviros[1] causam aliquam feliciter orare, aut apud principem ipsos illos libertos et procuratores principum tueri et defendere datur. Tum mihi supra tribunatus et praeturas et consulatus ascendere videor, tum habere quod, si non *ultro* oritur,[2] nec codicillis datur nec cum gratia venit. Quid? fama et laus cuius artis cum oratorum gloria comparanda est? Quinam inlustri[illegible]t in urbe non solum apud negotiosos et rebus [illegible] sed etiam apud iuvenes vacuos[4] et adulescentes, quibus modo et recta indoles est et bona spes sui? Quorum nomina prius parentes liberis suis ingerunt? Quos saepius vulgus quoque imperitum et tunicatus hic populus transeuntes nomine vocat et digito demonstrat? Advenae quoque et peregrini iam in municipiis et coloniis suis auditos, cum primum urbem attigerunt, requirunt ac velut adgnoscere concupiscunt.

8 Ausim contendere Marcellum hunc Eprium, de quo

[1] See note 11 p. 133.
[2] See note 12, p. 133.
[3] See note 13, p. 134.
[4] See note 14, p. 134.

of a community which is not at all popular at Rome,—such days have been in no greater degree red-letter days for me than those on which I enjoy the opportunity, to the modest extent of my poor ability as a speaker, of securing an acquittal in a criminal trial, or of pleading some case successfully before the centumviral court,[1] or of undertaking the defence of some redoubtable freedman or imperial agent in the Emperor's presence-chamber. Then it is that I feel I am rising above the level of a tribune, a praetor, or even a consul, and that I possess an asset which, unless it comes unbidden, cannot either be conferred by letters-patent or follow in the train of popular favour.

"Why, where is there a profession whose name and fame are to be compared with renown in oratory? What class of men enjoys greater prestige here in Rome than our public speakers, in the eyes not only of busy men, engrossed in affairs, but also of younger persons, who have leisure, and of those too who have not yet come to man's estate,—provided always that they are of good natural disposition and have some outlook? Are there any whose names are dinned at an earlier age by parents into their children's ears? Are there any to whom the plain man in the street, our citizens in their working-clothes, more frequently point as they pass by, saying, 'There goes So-and-so'? Visitors also and non-residents, as soon as they set foot in the capital, ask for the men of whom in their country-towns and colonies they have already heard so much, and are all agog to make them out.

"I would make bold to affirm that our friend Eprius Marcellus, of whom I have just been speaking, and

[1] See note 11, p. 133.

modo locutus sum, et Crispum Vibium (libentius enim novis et recentibus quam remotis et oblitteratis exemplis utor) non minus *notos*[1] esse in extremis partibus terrarum quam Capuae aut Vercellis, ubi nati dicuntur. Nec hoc illis alterius *bis, alterius* ter milies sestertium praestat, quamquam ad has ipsas opes possunt videri eloquentiae beneficio venisse, *sed* ipsa eloquentia; cuius numen et caelestis vis multa quidem omnibus saeculis exempla edidit, ad quam usque fortunam homines ingenii viribus pervenerint, sed haec, ut supra dixi, proxima et quae non auditu cognoscenda, sed oculis spectanda haberemus. Nam quo sordidius et abiectius nati sunt quoque notabilior paupertas et angustiae rerum nascentes eos circumsteterunt, eo clariora et ad demonstrandam oratoriae eloquentiae utilitatem inlustriora exempla sunt, quod sine commendatione natalium, sine substantia facultatum, neuter moribus egregius, alter habitu quoque corporis contemptus, per multos iam annos potentissimi sunt civitatis ac, donec libuit, principes fori, nunc principes in Caesaris amicitia agunt feruntque cuncta, atque ab ipso principe cum quadam reverentia

[1] See note 15, p. 134.

Vibius Crispus (I prefer to cite instances that are fresh and of recent date rather than those which are so far back as to be half-forgotten), are just as well known in the uttermost parts of the earth as they are at Capua or Vercellae, which are mentioned as the places of their birth. And it is not their great wealth that they have to thank for this,—200 millions of sesterces[1] in the one case and 300[2] in the other,—though it would be possible to hold that it is to their eloquence that they owe that wealth: no, what makes them famous is simply their eloquence. In all ages the divine influence and supernatural power of eloquence have given us many illustrations of the high position to which men have climbed by sheer intellectual capacity; but these are cases which, as I have said already, come home to us, and it has been vouchsafed us to see them with our own eyes instead of learning of them by hearsay. The meaner and the more humble was the origin of those two men, and the more notorious the poverty and want that hemmed in their young lives, so the more brightly do they shine as conspicuous examples of the practical advantage of oratorical power. Though they had none of the recommendations of birth or the resources of wealth, though neither of the two was of preeminently high moral character, while one of them had an exterior that made him even an object of derision, yet after being now for many years the most powerful men in Rome, and—so long as they cared for such success—leaders of the bar, they take to-day the leading place in the Emperor's circle of friends, and get their own way in everything. And by Vespasian himself they are regarded with an affection that is not unmixed with deference; for

[1] About £1,700,000. [2] About £2,550,000.

diliguntur; quia Vespasianus, venerabilis senex et patientissimus veri, bene intellegit ceteros quidem amicos suos iis niti quae ab ipso acceperint quaeque ipsi [1] accumulare et in alios congerere promptum sit, Marcellum autem et Crispum attulisse ad amicitiam suam quod non a principe acceperint nec accipi possit. Minimum inter tot ac tanta locum obtinent imagines ac tituli et statuae, quae neque ipsa tamen negleguntur, tam hercule quam divitiae et opes, quas facilius invenies qui vituperet quam qui fastidiat.

His igitur et honoribus et ornamentis et facultatibus refertas domos eorum videmus qui se ab ineunte adulescentia causis forensibus et oratorio studio dederunt.

9 Nam carmina et versus, quibus totam vitam Maternus insumere optat (inde enim omnis fluxit oratio), neque dignitatem ullam auctoribus suis conciliant neque utilitates alunt; voluptatem autem brevem, laudem inanem et infructuosam consequuntur. Licet haec ipsa et quae deinceps dicturus sum aures tuae, Materne, respuant, cui bono est si apud te Agamemnon aut Iason diserte loquitur? Quis ideo domum defensus et tibi obligatus redit? Quis Saleium nostrum, egregium poetam vel, si hoc honorificentius est, praeclarissimum vatem, deducit

[1] See note 16, p. 134.

our aged and venerable Emperor, who never shuts his eyes to facts, is well aware that while all the rest of his favourites owe their position to the advantages they have received from him,—advantages which he finds it quite easy to amass for himself and to lavish on others,—Marcellus and Crispus, on the other hand, have brought to the friendship that unites them to him an element which they never got from an Emperor and which is absolutely incommunicable. Alongside of these many great achievements, medallions and inscriptions[1] and statues are of very little account; and yet even these are not lightly regarded, any more than wealth and [illegible] which you will always find men more ready to denounce than to disdain.

"Such then are the honours and distinctions and resources which we find to repletion in the houses of those who from youth up have dedicated themselves to the practice of law and the profession of oratory.

"As for poetry and verse-making, to which Maternus is eager to devote the whole of his life—for that was the starting-point of this talk—they neither bring their author any higher standing nor do they advance his material interests; and the satisfaction they furnish is as short-lived as their fame is empty and profitless. Very likely you will not relish what I am saying, Maternus, or what I intend to state in the course of my argument; but I ask all the same, When an Agamemnon or a Jason talks well in one of your plays, who profits by that? Does any one gain a verdict by it, and feel beholden to you accordingly, as he goes home? Take our friend Saleius, a first-rate poet, or—if that is a more complimentary designation—a most illus-

[1] See note 17, p. 134.

aut salutat aut prosequitur? Nempe si amicus eius, si propinquus, si denique ipse in aliquod negotium inciderit, ad hunc Secundum recurret aut ad te, Materne, non quia poeta es. Neque ut pro eo versus facias; hi enim Basso domi nascuntur, pulchri quidem et iucundi, quorum tamen hic exitus est, ut cum toto anno, per omnes dies, magna noctium parte unum librum excudit et elucubravit, rogare ultro et ambire cogatur ut sint qui dignentur audire, et ne id quidem gratis; nam et domum mutuatur et auditorium exstruit et subsellia conducit et libellos dispergit. Et ut beatissimus recitationem eius eventus prosequatur, omnis illa laus intra unum aut alterum diem, velut in herba vel flore praecerpta[1], ad nullam certam et solidam pervenit frugem, nec aut amicitiam inde refert aut clientelam aut mansurum in animo cuiusquam beneficium, sed clamorem vagum et voces inanes et gaudium volucre. Laudavimus nuper ut miram et eximiam Vespasiani liberalitatem, quod quingenta sestertia Basso donasset. Pulchrum id quidem, indulgentiam principis ingenio mereri: quanto tamen pulchrius, si ita res familiaris exigat, se ipsum colere, suum genium[2] propitiare, suam experiri liberalitatem! Adice quod poetis, si modo dignum aliquid elaborare

[1] See note 18, p. 134. [2] See note 19, p. 134.

trious bard: does any one escort him to his house, or wait on him to pay his respects, or follow in his train? Why surely, if any of his friends or relatives gets into trouble, or even himself, he will hie him to you, Secundus, or to you, Maternus,—not because you are a poet, or with any idea of getting you to write verses in his defence: Bassus has his own home supply of these, and pretty, charming verses they are, though the upshot of them all is that, when he has concocted after long lucubration a single volume in a whole year, working every day and most nights as well, he finds himself obliged to run round into the bargain and beg people to be kind enough to come and form an audience. That too costs him something, for he has to get the loan of a house, to fit up a recitation-hall, to hire chairs, and to distribute programmes. And even supposing his reading is a superlative success, in a day or two all the glory of it passes away, like a plant culled too soon in the blade or the bud, without reaching any real solid fruitage: what he gets out of it is never a friend, never a client, never any lasting gratitude for a service rendered, but only fitful applause, empty compliments, and a satisfaction that is fleeting. We were full of praise the other day for Vespasian's striking and extraordinary generosity in presenting Bassus with five hundred thousand sesterces.[1] And to win for oneself by one's ability the favour of an Emperor is, no doubt, a fine thing; but how much finer is it, if the low state of one's fortune should make it necessary, to pay court to oneself instead, to be one's own good genius, and to make trial of one's own bounty? And there is more. A poet, when he is minded laboriously to produce

[1] About £4250.

et efficere velint, relinquenda conversatio amicorum et iucunditas urbis, deserenda cetera officia, utque ipsi dicunt, in nemora et lucos, id est in solitudinem secedendum est.

10 Ne opinio quidem et fama, cui soli serviunt et quod unum esse pretium omnis laboris sui fatentur, aeque poetas quam oratores sequitur, quoniam mediocres poetas nemo novit, bonos pauci. Quando enim rarissimarum[1] recitationum fama in totam urbem penetrat, nedum ut per tot provincias innotescat? Quotus quisque, cum ex Hispania vel Asia, ne quid de Gallis nostris loquar, in urbem venit, Saleium Bassum requirit? Atque adeo si quis requirit, ut semel vidit, transit et contentus est, ut si picturam aliquam vel statuam vidisset. Neque hunc meum sermonem sic accipi volo tamquam eos quibus natura sua oratorium ingenium denegavit deterream a carminibus, si modo in hac studiorum parte oblectare otium et nomen inserere possunt famae. Ego vero omnem eloquentiam omnesque eius partes sacras et venerabiles puto, nec solum cothurnum vestrum aut heroici carminis sonum, sed lyricorum quoque iucunditatem et elegorum lascivias et iamborum amaritudinem *et* epigrammatum lusus et quamcumque

[1] See note 20, p. 135.

some creditable composition, has to turn his back on the society of friends and on all the charms of city-life; abandoning every other function, he must retire into the solitude, as poets themselves say, of the woods and the groves.

"Nor is it even the case that a great name and fame, which is the only object they strive for, protesting that it is the one reward of all their toil, falls to the lot of poets as much as of orators: average poets no one knows, and good poets but few. Why, take your public readings, few and far between as they are: when do they get noised abroad throughout the capital, to say nothing of coming to be known in the various provinces? How very seldom it is that, when a stranger arrives in Rome from Spain or Asia Minor, not to mention my own native land of Gaul, he makes inquiry after Saleius Bassus! And if anyone does happen to ask for him, when once he has clapped eyes on the poet, he passes on his way, quite satisfied,—just as if it had been a picture or a statue that he had seen. Now I do not want you to take what I am saying as though I am trying to frighten away from verse composition those who are constitutionally devoid of oratorical talent, if they really can find agreeable entertainment for their spare time in this branch of literature, and gain for themselves a niche in the temple of fame. My belief is that there is something sacred and august about every form and every department of literary expression: I am of the opinion that it is not only your tragic buskin or the sonorous epic that we ought to exalt above the pursuit of non-literary accomplishments, but the charm of lyric poetry as well, and the wanton elegy, the biting iambic, the playful epigram, and in fact all the other

aliam speciem eloquentia habeat anteponendam ceteris aliarum artium studiis [1] credo. Sed tecum mihi, Materne, res est, quod, cum natura tua in ipsam arcem eloquentiae ferat[2], errare mavis et summa adepturus in levioribus subsistis. Vt si in Graecia natus esses, ubi ludicras quoque artes exercere honestum est, ac tibi Nicostrati robur ac vires di dedissent, non paterer inmanes illos et ad pugnam natos lacertos levitate iaculi aut iactu disci vanescere, sic nunc te ab auditoriis et theatris in forum et ad causas et ad vera proelia voco, cum praesertim ne ad illud quidem confugere possis, quod plerisque patrocinatur, tamquam minus obnoxium sit offendere poetarum quam oratorum studium. Effervescit enim vis pulcherrimae naturae tuae, nec pro amico aliquo, sed, quod periculosius est, pro Catone offendis. Nec excusatur offensa necessitudine officii aut fide advocationis aut fortuitae et subitae dictionis impetu: meditatus videris *hanc* [3] elegisse personam notabilem et cum auctoritate dicturam. Sentio quid responderi possit: hinc ingentes existere adsensus, haec in ipsis auditoriis praecipue laudari et mox omnium sermo-

[1] See note 21, p. 135.
[2] See note 22, p. 135.
[3] See note 23, p. 135.

forms in which literature finds utterance. My quarrel is with you, Maternus, and it is this: though your natural gifts point upwards to the true pinnacle of eloquence, you prefer to wander in bypaths, and when you could easily reach the top you loiter over comparatively trivial pursuits. If you had been a Greek, a native of a country where it is quite respectable to practise the arts that serve only for pastime, and if heaven had given you the great bodily strength of a Nicostratus, I should protest against allowing your brawny arms, framed for combats in the arena, to be thrown away on the tame sport of hurling the javelin or the discus; and in the same way now I am trying to get you away from the lecture-hall and the stage to the forum and to the real contests of actions-at law. And all the more since you cannot shelter yourself behind the plea which helps out so many, namely, that people are less likely to take umbrage at the professional activity of the poet than at that of the public speaker. Why, your generous temperament is up in a blaze at once, and it is not in defence of a friend that you make yourself objectionable, but, what is more dangerous, in defence of Cato. And the offence you give cannot be held excused by the obligation to render a friendly service, or by loyalty to a client, or by the excitement of an unpremeditated utterance, made off-hand; no, it looks as if of set purpose you had selected that characteristic personality, whose words would have great weight. I know what can be said on the other side. it is this that excites unbounded applause, it is this that in the recitation-room promptly secures great commendation and afterwards becomes the theme of universal

nibus ferri. Tolle igitur quietis et securitatis excusationem, cum tibi sumas adversarium superiorem. Nobis satis sit privatas et nostri saeculi controversias tueri, in quibus si quando [1] necesse sit pro periclitante amico potentiorum aures offender et probata sit fides et libertas excusata."

11 Quae cum dixisset Aper acrius, ut solebat, et intento ore, remissus et subridens Maternus "Parantem" inquit "me non minus diu accusare oratores quam Aper laudaverat (fore enim arbitrabar ut a laudatione eorum digressus detrectaret poetas atque carminum studium prosterneret) arte quadam mitigavit, concedendo iis qui causas agere non possent ut versus facerent. Ego autem sicut in causis agendis efficere aliquid et eniti fortasse possum, ita recitatione tragoediarum et ingredi famam auspicatus sum, cum quidem *principe* Nerone [2] improbam et studiorum quoque sacra profanantem Vatinii potentiam fregi, *et* hodie si quid in nobis notitiae ac nominis est, magis arbitror carminum quam orationum gloria partum. Ac iam me deiungere a forensi labore constitui, nec comitatus istos et egressus aut frequentiam salutantium concupisco, non magis quam aera et imagines, quae etiam me nolente in domum meam inruperunt.

[1] See note 24, p. 135.
[2] See note 25, p. 136.

remark. Away then with the plea that what you want is peace and quietness, seeing that you deliberately choose an adversary who is so much above you. For us orators let it suffice to play our parts in private and present-day controversies, and if in these it is at times incumbent, in defence of a friend who is in jeopardy, to say what is displeasing to the powers that be, may we win commendation for our loyalty and indulgence for our outspokenness."

Aper's words were, as usual with him, somewhat vehement in their tone, and his face was hard set. When he had finished, Maternus replied blandly, and with a quiet smile: "I was getting ready to make my impeachment of the orators as thoroughgoing as Aper's eulogy had been; for my expectation was that he would turn from that eulogy to disparage poets and lay the pursuit of poesy in the dust. But he quite cleverly disarmed me by yielding the point that verse composition may be indulged in by anyone who would not make a good lawyer. Now while I might possibly accomplish something, though not without effort, as a barrister, yet on the other hand it was by dramatic readings that I took the first step on the path of fame, when in Nero's reign I broke the power of Vatinius, that unconscionable usurper who was desecrating even the sanctity of letters; and any reputation or renown I may possess to-day is due, I fancy, to the fame of my poetry rather than to my speeches. And now I have determined to throw off the yoke of my practice at the bar. The retinue that attends you when you go out of doors, and the crowd of morning callers have no charms for me, any more than the bronze medallions which even against my will have forced their way into my house.

Nam statum hucusque ac securitatem melius innocentia tueor[1] quam eloquentia, nec vereor ne mihi umquam verba in senatu nisi pro alterius discrimine facienda sint.

12 Nemora vero et luci et secretum ipsum, quod Aper increpabat, tantam mihi adferunt voluptatem ut inter praecipuos carminum fructus numerem quod non in strepitu nec sedente ante ostium litigatore nec inter sordes ac lacrimas reorum componuntur, sed secedit animus in loca pura atque innocentia fruiturque sedibus sacris. Haec eloquentiae primordia, haec penetralia; hoc primum habitu cultuque commoda mortalibus in illa casta et nullis contacta vitiis pectora influxit; sic oracula loquebantur. Nam lucrosae huius et sanguinantis eloquentiae usus recens et malis moribus natus, atque, ut tu dicebas, Aper, in locum teli repertus. Ceterum felix illud et, ut more nostro loquar, aureum saeculum, et oratorum et criminum inops, poetis et vatibus abundabat, qui bene facta canerent, non qui male admissa defenderent. Nec ullis aut gloria maior *erat* aut augustior honor, primum apud deos, quorum proferre responsa et interesse epulis ferebantur, deinde apud illos dis genitos

[1] See note 26, p. 136.

So far as I have gone I find in uprightness a readier protection than in eloquence for my personal standing and my peace of mind; and I am not afraid of ever having to address the senate except in the interests of some one else who is in jeopardy.

"As for the woods and the groves and the idea of a quiet life, which came in for such abuse from Aper, so great is the joy they bring me that I count it among the chief advantages of poetry that it is not written amid the bustle of the city, with clients sitting in wait for you at your own front door, or in association with accused persons, shabbily clothed and weeping for all they are worth: no, the poetic soul withdraws into the habitations of purity and innocence, and in these hallowed dwellings finds its delight. Here is the cradle of eloquence, here its holy of holies; this was the form and fashion in which the faculty of utterance first won its way with mortal men, streaming into hearts that were as yet pure and free from any stain of guilt; poetry was the language of the oracles. The gain-getting rhetoric now in vogue, greedy for human blood, is a modern invention, the product of a depraved condition of society. As you said yourself, Aper, it has been devised for use as a weapon of offence. The age of bliss, on the other hand, the golden age, as we poets call it, knew nothing of either accusers or accusations; but it had a rich crop of poets and bards, who instead of defending the evil-doer chanted the praises of those that did well. And to none was greater fame or more exalted rank accorded than to them, first in high heaven itself; for they were the prophets, it was said, of the oracles of the gods, and were present as guests at their banquets; and thereafter at the courts of god-

sacrosque reges, inter quos neminem causidicum, sed Orphea et Linum ac, si introspicere altius velis, ipsum Apollinem accepimus. Vel si haec fabulosa nimis et composita videntur, illud certe mihi concedes, Aper, non minorem honorem Homero quam Demostheni apud posteros, nec angustioribus terminis famam Euripidis aut Sophoclis quam Lysiae aut Hyperidis includi. Plures hodie reperies qui Ciceronis gloriam quam qui Vergilii detrectent, nec ullus Asinii aut Messallae liber tam inlustris est quam Medea Ovidii aut Varii Thyestes.

13 Ac ne fortunam quidem vatum et illud felix contubernium comparare timuerim cum inquieta et anxia oratorum vita. Licet illos certamina et pericula sua ad consulatus evexerint, malo securum et quietum Vergilii secessum, in quo tamen neque apud divum Augustum gratia caruit neque apud populum Romanum notitia. Testes Augusti epistulae, testis ipse populus, qui auditis in theatro Vergilii versibus surrexit universus et forte praesentem spectantemque Vergilium veneratus est sic quasi Augustum. Ne nostris quidem temporibus Secundus Pomponius Afro Domitio vel dignitate vitae vel perpetuitate famae cesserit. Nam Crispus iste et Marcellus, ad quorum exempla me vocas, quid habent in hac sua fortuna concupiscendum? quod timent, an quod timentur?

born holy kings, in whose company we never hear of a pleader, but of an Orpheus, a Linus, and, if you care to go further back, Apollo himself. If you think there is too much legend and fiction about all this, you surely will admit, Aper, that Homer has been revered by after ages just as much as Demosthenes, and that the fame of Euripides or Sophocles is not confined to narrower limits than that of Lysias or Hyperides. And to-day you will find a larger number of critics ready to disparage Cicero's reputation than Virgil's; while there is no published oration of Asinius or Messalla so celebrated as the 'Medea' of Ovid or the 'Thyestes' of Varius.

"Nor should I hesitate to contrast the poet's lot in life and his delightful literary companionships with the unrest and anxiety that mark the orator's career. What though in his case a consulship be the crown of all the contests and lawsuits he so dearly loves: for my part I would rather have the seclusion in which Virgil lived, tranquil and serene, without forfeiting either the favour of the sainted Augustus, or popularity with the citizens of Rome. This is vouched for by the letters of Augustus, and by the behaviour of the citizens themselves; for on hearing a quotation from Virgil in the course of a theatrical performance, they rose to their feet as one man, and did homage to the poet, who happened to be present at the play, just as they would have done to the Emperor himself. And in our own day too Pomponius Secundus ranks just as high as Domitius Afer, alike in personal standing and in enduring reputation. As for your Crispus and your Marcellus, whom you hold up to me as patterns for imitation, what is there about their boasted condition that we ought to covet? Is it the fear they feel, or the fear they inspire in others?

quod, cum cotidie aliquid rogentur, ii quibus praestant *nihil*[1] indignantur? quod adligati *omni*[2] adulatione nec imperantibus umquam satis servi videntur nec nobis satis liberi? Quae haec summa eorum potentia est? tantum posse liberti solent. Me vero dulces, ut Vergilius ait, Musae, remotum a sollicitudinibus et curis et necessitate cotidie aliquid contra animum faciendi, in illa sacra illosque fontes ferant; nec insanum ultra et lubricum forum famamque pallentem[3] trepidus experiar. Non me fremitus salutantium nec anhelans libertus excitet, nec incertus futuri testamentum pro pignore scribam, nec plus habeam quam quod possim cui velim relinquere;

quandoque enim fatalis et meus dies
veniet:[4]

statuarque tumulo non maestus et atrox, sed hilaris et coronatus, et pro memoria mei nec consulat quisquam nec roget."

14 Vixdum finierat Maternus, concitatus et velut instinctus, cum Vipstanus Messalla cubiculum eius ingressus est, suspicatusque ex ipsa intentione singulorum altiorem inter eos esse sermonem, "Num parum

[1] See note 27, p. 136.
[2] See note 28, p. 137.
[3] See note 29, p. 137.
[4] See note 31, p. 137.

Is it the fact that, besieged as they are from day to day by all sorts of petitions, they set the backs up of those whom they are unable to oblige? Or that, being constrained to curry favour in every direction, they can never show themselves either sufficiently servile to the powers that be, or sufficiently independent to us? And what does this great power of theirs amount to? Why, the Emperor's freedmen often possess as much. As for myself, may the 'sweet Muses,' as Virgil says, bear me away to their holy places where sacred streams do flow, beyond the reach of anxiety and care, and free from the obligation of performing each day some task that goes against the grain. May I no longer have anything to do with the mad racket and the hazards of the forum, or tremble as I try a fall with white-faced Fame. I do not want to be roused from sleep by the clatter of morning callers or by some breathless messenger from the palace; I do not care, in drawing my will, to give a money-pledge for its safe execution through anxiety as to what is to happen afterwards;[1] I wish for no larger estate than I can leave to the heir of my own free choice. Some day or other the last hour will strike also for me, and my prayer is that my effigy may be set up beside my grave, not grim and scowling, but all smiles and garlands, and that no one shall seek to honour my memory either by a motion in the senate or by a petition to the Emperor."

Georg. ii. 475

Scarce had Maternus finished, speaking with animation and in a sort of ecstasy, when Vipstanus Messalla entered the room; and divining from the look of fixed attention on each and every face that the subject of their conversation was one of special importance,

[1] See note 30, p. 137.

tempestivus" inquit "interveni secretum consilium et causae alicuius meditationem tractantibus?"

"Minime, minime" inquit Secundus, "atque adeo vellem maturius intervenisses; delectasset enim te et Apri nostri accuratissimus sermo, cum Maternum ut omne ingenium ac studium suum ad causas agendas converteret exhortatus est, et Materni pro carminibus suis laeta, utque poetas defendi decebat, audentior et poetarum quam oratorum similior oratio."

"Me vero" inquit "et sermo iste infinita voluptate adfecisset, atque id ipsum delectat, quod vos, viri optimi et temporum nostrorum oratores, non forensibus tantum negotiis et declamatorio studio ingenia vestra exercetis, sed eius modi etiam disputationes adsumitis, quae et ingenium alunt et eruditionis ac litterarum iucundissimum oblectamentum cum vobis qui ista disputatis adferunt, tum etiam iis ad quorum aures pervenerint. Itaque hercle non minus probari video in te, Secunde, quod Iuli Africani vitam componendo spem hominibus fecisti plurium eius modi librorum, quam in Apro, quod nondum ab scholasticis controversiis recessit et otium suum mavult novorum rhetorum more quam veterum oratorum consumere."

15 Tum Aper: "Non desinis, Messalla, vetera tantum et antiqua mirari, nostrorum autem temporum studia inridere atque contemnere. Nam hunc tuum ser-

he said: "Have I come in at the wrong moment, disturbing a private consultation, in which you are busy with the preparation of some case or other?"

"Not at all," exclaimed Secundus, "not at all: on the contrary, I wish you had come in sooner. You would have been delighted with our friend Aper's carefully elaborated discourse, which was an appeal to Maternus to devote all his talent and energy to pleading at the bar, and also with Maternus's enthusiastic vindication of his verses in a speech which, quite appropriately for one who was championing the poets, was somewhat daring and more in the style of poetry than of oratory."

"Why, surely," he rejoined, "I should have enjoyed the talk immensely; but what delights me is the very fact that distinguished persons like yourselves, the foremost speakers of the present day, do not confine your intellectual exercises to legal issues and the practice of declamation, but undertake in addition discussions of this sort, which strengthen the intellect and furnish at the same time, both to yourselves who take part in the debate and also to those to whose ears it comes, the most delightful entertainment that literary culture affords. As the author of a biography of Julius Africanus, you, Secundus, have made the public hope for many more volumes of the kind, and I find that for this people are just as well pleased with you as they are with Aper for not having yet withdrawn from the rhetorical exercises of the schools, and for choosing to spend all his leisure after the fashion of the new rhetoricians rather than of the orators of former days."

"My dear Messalla," Aper rejoined, "you are never done admiring what is old and out of date, and that alone, while you keep pouring ridicule and scorn

monem saepe excepi, cum oblitus et tuae et fratris tui eloquentiae neminem hoc tempore oratorem esse contenderes *parem* [1] antiquis, eo, credo, audacius quod malignitatis opinionem non verebaris, cum eam gloriam quam tibi alii concedunt ipse tibi denegares."

"Neque illius" inquit "sermonis mei paenitentiam ago, neque aut Secundum aut Maternum aut te ipsum, Aper, quamquam interdum in contrarium disputes, aliter sentire credo. Ac velim impetratum ab aliquo vestrum ut causas huius infinitae differentiae scrutetur ac reddat, quas mecum ipse plerumque conquiro. Et quod quibusdam solacio est mihi auget quaestionem, quia video etiam Graiis accidisse ut longius absit *ab* Aeschine et Demosthene Sacerdos iste Nicetes, et si quis alius Ephesum vel Mytilenas concentu scholasticorum et clamoribus quatit, quam Afer aut Africanus aut vos ipsi a Cicerone aut Asinio recessistis."

16 "Magnam" inquit Secundus "et dignam tractatu, quaestionem movisti. Sed quis eam iustius explicabit

[1] See note 33, p. 138.

on the culture of the present day. I have often heard you speak as you are speaking now,—maintaining, with never a thought of how eloquent you are yourself, or how eloquent your brother[1] is, that we have no orator with us to-day who can hold his own with those of former times; and all the more daringly, I feel sure, because you did not need to be afraid of any imputation of petty jealousy, seeing that you were denying to yourself the reputation that others say is justly yours."

"Well," said Messalla, "I make no apologies for the sort of talk you say you have heard from me, and what is more, I don't really believe that Secundus or Maternus has any different opinion, or you either, Aper, though at times you argue in support of the opposite view. I only wish I could induce some one of your number to investigate the reasons for the prodigious contrast that there is, and to report the results of his investigation. I find myself often asking what they can be. And what brings comfort to some is to me only an aggravation of the difficulty, namely, the knowledge that the same thing happened also in Greece. Take your friend Sacerdos Nicetes, for instance, and all the rest that make the walls of Ephesus or Mytilene shake with rounds of applause from their approving pupils: the interval that separates them from Aeschines and Demosthenes is a wider one than that by which Afer or Africanus or you yourselves stand removed from Cicero or Asinius."

"It is an important issue," Secundus said, "that you have mooted, and one well worth discussion. But is there any one who could more properly unfold it than yourself, seeing that to profound scholar-

[1] See note 32, p. 138.

quam tu, ad cuius summam eruditionem et praestantissimum ingenium cura quoque et meditatio accessit."

Et Messalla "Aperiam" inquit "cogitationes meas, si illud a vobis ante impetravero, ut vos quoque sermonem hunc nostrum adiuvetis."

"Pro duobus" inquit Maternus "promitto; nam et ego et Secundus exsequemur eas partes quas intellexerimus te non tam omisisse quam nobis reliquisse. Aprum enim solere dissentire et tu paulo ante dixisti et ipse satis manifestus est iam dudum in contrarium accingi, nec aequo animo perferre hanc nostram pro antiquorum laude concordiam."

"Non enim" inquit Aper "inauditum et indefensum saeculum nostrum patiar hac vestra conspiratione damnari: sed hoc primum interrogabo, quos vocetis antiquos, quam oratorum aetatem significatione ista determinetis? Ego enim cum audio antiquos, quosdam veteres et olim natos intellego, ac mihi versantur ante oculos Ulixes ac Nestor, quorum aetas mille fere et trecentis annis saeculum nostrum antecedit; vos autem Demosthenem et Hyperidem profertis, quos satis constat Philippi et Alexandri temporibus floruisse, ita tamen ut utrique superstites essent. Ex quo adparet non multo plures quam trecentos annos interesse inter nostram et Demosthenis aetatem: quod spatium temporis si ad infirmitatem corporum nostrorum referas, fortasse longum videatur, si ad naturam saeculorum ac respectum immensi

ship and eminent ability you have added much careful study?"

Messalla replied: "If I can first get you to promise that you too will lend me a helping hand with my discourse, I shall be glad to let you know what I think."

"I undertake for two of us," said Maternus; "both Secundus and I will take up the points, whatever they may be, which you do not so much overlook as deliberately leave to us. As to Aper, you said a little while ago that he has the habit of opposition; and moreover it is quite clear that for some time past he has been girding himself for the fray, and that our unanimous eulogy of the ancients is more than he can tamely endure."

"Certainly," Aper rejoined: "you are in collusion, and I will not allow judgment to go by default, and without a hearing, against our own times. But to begin with, I shall ask this question: who is it that you call the 'ancients,' and what period of oratory do you designate by your use of the word? For myself, when I hear people speaking of the 'ancients,' I take it that they are referring to persons remote from us, who lived long ago: I have in my mind's eye heroes like Ulysses and Nestor, whose epoch antedates our own times by about thirteen hundred years. You on the other hand bring forward Demosthenes and Hyperides, whose date is well authenticated. They flourished in the days of Philip and Alexander, and indeed survived both these princes. This makes it plain that between our era and that of Demosthenes there is an interval of not much more than three hundred years: a period which may perhaps seem long if measured by the standard of our feeble frames, but which, if considered in relation to the process of the ages and the endless lapse of time,

huius aevi, perquam breve et in proximo est. Nam si, ut Cicero in Hortensio scribit, is est magnus et verus annus quo eadem positio caeli siderumque quae cum maxime est rursum exsistet, isque annus horum quos nos vocamus annorum duodecim milia nongentos quinquaginta quattuor complectitur, incipit Demosthenes vester, quem vos veterem et antiquum fingitis, non solum eodem anno quo nos, sed etiam eodem mense exstitisse.

17 Sed transeo ad Latinos oratores, in quibus non Menenium, ut puto, Agrippam, qui potest videri antiquus, nostrorum temporum disertis anteponere soletis, sed Ciceronem et Caesarem et Caelium et Calvum et Brutum et Asinium et Messallam: quos quid antiquis temporibus potius adscribatis quam nostris, non video. Nam ut de Cicerone ipso loquar, Hirtio nempe et Pansa consulibus, ut Tiro libertus eius scripsit, septimo idus *Decembres* occisus est, quo anno divus Augustus in locum Pansae et Hirtii se et Q. Pedium consules suffecit. Statue sex et quinquaginta annos, quibus mox divus Augustus rem publicam rexit; adice Tiberii tres et viginti, et prope quadriennium Gai, ac bis quaternos denos Claudii et Neronis annos, atque illum Galbae et Othonis et Vitelli longum et unum annum, ac sextam iam felicis huius principatus stationem quo Vespasianus rem publicam fovet: centum et viginti anni ab interitu Ciceronis in hunc diem colliguntur,

is altogether short and but as yesterday. For if, as Cicero tells us in his 'Hortensius,' the Great Year, the True Year, is that in which the constellations in the heavens above us come back again to the same position in which they are at any particular moment, and if the Great Year includes 12,954 of our so-called years, then it follows that your boasted Demosthenes, whom you make out to be an ancient, one of the olden times, must have lived not only in the same year as ourselves, but also in the same month.

"But I pass on to the orators of Rome. Among them it is not Menenius Agrippa, I take it,—who may well be considered an ancient,—that you are in the habit of rating above good speakers of the present day, but Cicero, and Caesar, and Caelius, and Calvus, and Brutus, and Asinius, and Messalla; though in regard to these I fail to see any reason why you should credit them to antiquity rather than to our own era. Just take Cicero: it was, as you know, in the consulship of Hirtius and Pansa that he was put to death, on the 7th December, as his freedman Tiro has left it on record, in the year in which the sainted Augustus appointed himself along with Quintus Pedius to take the place of Hirtius and Pansa. Count the fifty-six years in which the sainted Augustus thereafter held the helm of state; to these add twenty-three years for Tiberius, nearly four for Caligula, fourteen each for Claudius and Nero, that one long year for Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, and now the sixth stage of this auspicious reign in which Vespasian is making the country happy: the addition gives us only a hundred and twenty years from the death of Cicero to the present day, no more than the

unius hominis aetas. Nam ipse ego in Britannia vidi senem qui se fateretur ei pugnae interfuisse qua Caesarem inferentem arma Britanniae arcere litoribus et pellere adgressi sunt. Ita si eum, qui armatus C. Caesari restitit, vel captivitas vel voluntas vel fatum aliquod in urbem pertraxisset, aeque idem et Caesarem ipsum et Ciceronem audire potuit et nostris quoque actionibus interesse. Proximo quidem congiario ipsi vidistis plerosque senes qui se a divo quoque Augusto semel atque iterum accepisse congiarium narrabant. Ex quo colligi potest et Corvinum ab illis et Asinium audiri potuisse, (nam Corvinus in medium usque Augusti principatum, Asinius paene ad extremum duravit): ne dividatis saeculum, et antiquos ac veteres vocitetis oratores quos eorundem hominum aures adgnoscere ac velut coniungere et copulare potuerunt.

18 Haec ideo praedixi ut, si qua ex horum oratorum fama gloriaque laus temporibus adquiritur, eam docerem in medio sitam et propiorem nobis quam Servio Galbae aut C. Carboni quosque alios merito antiquos vocaverimus; sunt enim horridi et impoliti, et rudes et informes, et quos utinam nulla parte imitatus esset Calvus vester aut Caelius aut ipse Cicero. Agere enim fortius iam et audentius volo,

life of an individual. Why, I saw with my own eyes an old man in Britain who could make the statement that he had taken a hand in the fight in which, when Caesar was attempting the invasion of that island, his compatriots tried to head him off and repel him from their shores. Now if the person who thus offered armed resistance to Caesar had come all the way to Rome as a slave, or on a visit, or by some other chance, it is quite possible that he might have listened to Caesar himself on the one hand, and to Cicero, and on the other have been present at our own judicial pleadings. You yourselves anyhow at the last public distribution of largess saw quite a number of old men who told us that they had more than once received a gratuity from the sainted Augustus himself. The obvious inference from this is that they might have listened to Corvinus as well as to Asinius, for Corvinus lived to the middle of the reign of Augustus, Asinius almost to the end of it; so that you must not make two epochs out of one, and keep on speaking of 'remote antiquity' in reference to orators whom the same persons could have heard with their own ears and so have connected closely with ourselves.

"The reason why I have said all this by way of introduction is that I wanted to show that we have a common property in any lustre the name and fame of these orators may shed upon the times, and that it is nearer to us than to Servius Galba, or Gaius Carbo, and all the rest who may properly be called 'ancients'; for they are really rough and unfinished, crude and inartistic, and generally with such qualities that one could wish that neither your admired Calvus, nor Caelius, nor Cicero himself had made them his model in anything. I want to take a bolder line

si illud ante praedixero, mutari cum temporibus formas quoque et genera dicendi. Sic Catoni seni comparatus C. Gracchus plenior et uberior, sic Graccho politior et ornatior Crassus, sic utroque distinctior et urbanior et altior Cicero, Cicerone mitior Corvinus et dulcior et in verbis magis elaboratus. Nec quaero quis disertissimus: hoc interim probasse contentus sum, non esse unum eloquentiae vultum, sed in illis quoque quos vocatis antiquos plures species deprehendi, nec statim deterius esse quod diversum est, vitio autem malignitatis humanae vetera semper in laude, praesentia in fastidio esse. Num dubitamus inventos qui prae Catone[1] Appium Caecum magis mirarentur? Satis constat ne Ciceroni quidem obtrectatores defuisse, quibus inflatus et tumens, nec satis pressus sed supra modum exsultans et superfluens et parum Atticus[2] videretur. Legistis utique et Calvi et Bruti ad Ciceronem missas epistulas, ex quibus facile est deprehendere Calvum quidem Ciceroni visum exsanguem et attritum, Brutum autem otiosum atque diiunctum; rursusque Ciceronem a Calvo quidem male audisse tamquam solutum et enervem, a Bruto autem, ut ipsius verbis utar, tamquam 'fractum atque elumbem.' Si me interroges, omnes mihi videntur verum dixisse: sed mox ad singulos veniam, nunc mihi cum universis negotium est.

[1] See note 34, p. 138.

[2] See note 35, p. 138.

now, and to speak more resolutely, first premising however that the forms and types of oratory change with the times. Thus Gaius Gracchus, as compared with old Cato, has greater fullness and wealth of diction, Crassus is more highly finished and more ornate than Gracchus, while Cicero is more luminous, more refined, more impassioned than either the one or the other. Corvinus again is mellower than Cicero, more engaging, and more careful in his choice of words. I am not asking which is the greatest orator: for my present purpose it is enough for me to have made the point that eloquence has more than one fashion of countenance, and that even in those whom you speak of as 'ancients' a variety of types can be discovered. Where change occurs, we are not immediately to conclude that it is a change for the worse: you must blame it on the carping spirit of mankind that whereas what is old is always held in high esteem, anything modern gets the cold shoulder. We do not doubt, do we, that there have been those who admired Appius Caecus more than Cato? Cicero himself, as is well known, had his detractors: they thought him turgid and puffy, wanting in conciseness, inordinately exuberant and redundant,—in short, not Attic enough. You have read, of course, the letters of Calvus and Brutus to Cicero, from which it is easy to gather that, as for Calvus, Cicero thought him bloodless and attenuated, just as he thought Brutus spiritless and disjointed; while Cicero was in his turn criticised by Calvus as flabby and pithless, and by Brutus, to use his own expression, as 'feeble and emasculate.' If you ask me, I think they all spoke the truth; but I shall deal with them individually later on; at present I am considering them as a class.

19 Nam quatenus antiquorum admiratores hunc velut terminum antiquitatis constituere solent, qui usque ad Cassium * * * * *, *equidem Cassium*[1] quem reum faciunt, quem primum adfirmant flexisse ab ista vetere atque directa dicendi via, non infirmitate ingenii nec inscitia litterarum transtulisse se ad aliud dicendi genus contendo, sed iudicio et intellectu. Vidit namque, ut paulo ante dicebam, cum condicione temporum et diversitate aurium formam quoque ac speciem orationis esse mutandam. Facile perferebat prior ille populus, ut imperitus et rudis, impeditissimarum orationum spatia, atque id ipsum laudabat si dicendo quis diem eximeret. Iam vero longa principiorum praeparatio et narrationis alte repetita series et multarum divisionum ostentatio et mille argumentorum gradus, et quidquid aliud aridissimis Hermagorae et Apollodori libris praecipitur, in honore erat; quod si quis odoratus philosophiam videretur atque[2] ex ea locum aliquem orationi suae insereret, in caelum laudibus ferebatur. Nec mirum; erant enim haec nova et incognita, et ipsorum quoque oratorum paucissimi praecepta rhetorum aut philosophorum placita cogno-

[1] See note 36, p. 138.
[2] See note 37, p. 139.

"The common practice of the eulogists of antiquity is to make this the line of demarcation between the ancients and ourselves. Down to the time of Cassius . . . Now as to Cassius, who is the object of their attack, and who according to them was the first to turn away from the straight old path of eloquence, my argument is that it was not from defective ability or want of literary culture that he went in for another style of rhetoric, but as the result of sound judgment and clear discrimination. He saw that with altered conditions and a variation in the popular taste, as I was saying a little while ago, the form and appearance of oratory had also to undergo a change. The public in those olden days, being untrained and unsophisticated, was quite well pleased with long-winded and involved orations, and would even bless the man who would fill up the day for them with his harangues. Just consider the lengthy exordia, designed to work upon the feelings of the audience, and the narrative portion, starting from the beginning of all things, and the parade of countless heads in the arrangement, and the thousand and one stages of the proof, and all the other precepts that are laid down in the dry-as-dust treatises of Hermagoras and Apollodorus,—all these were held in high esteem; and on the other hand, when there was anyone who was credited with having some slight smattering of philosophy, and who could slip some stock passage into his oration, he was praised to the skies. And no wonder. All that sort of thing was new and unfamiliar, and very few even of the orators themselves had made acquaintance with the rules of the rhetoricians or the tenets of the philosophers. But

verant. At hercule pervulgatis iam omnibus, cum vix in cortina quisquam adsistat quin elementis studiorum, etsi non instructus, at certe imbutus sit, novis et exquisitis eloquentiae itineribus opus est, per quae orator fastidium aurium effugiat, utique apud eos iudices qui vi et potestate, non iure aut legibus cognoscunt, nec accipiunt tempora, sed constituunt, nec exspectandum habent oratorem dum illi libeat de ipso negotio dicere, sed saepe ultro admonent atque alio transgredientem revocant et festinare se testantur.

20 Quis nunc feret oratorem de infirmitate valetudinis suae praefantem, qualia sunt fere principia Corvini? Quis quinque in Verrem libros exspectabit? Quis de exceptione et formula perpetietur illa immensa volumina quae pro M. Tullio aut Aulo Caecina legimus? Praecurrit hoc tempore iudex dicentem et, nisi aut cursu argumentorum aut colore sententiarum aut nitore et cultu descriptionum invitatus et corruptus est, aversatur. Vulgus quoque adsistentium et adfluens et vagus auditor adsuevit iam exigere laetitiam et pulchritudinem orationis; nec magis perfert in iudiciis tristem et impexam antiquitatem quam si quis in scaena Roscii aut Turpionis Ambivii exprimere gestus velit. Iam vero iuvenes et in ipsa studiorum incude positi, qui profectus sui causa

now that everything has become common property, and at a time when there is hardly any casual auditor in the well of the court who, if he has not had a systematic training in the rudiments of the art, cannot show at least a tincture of it, what we need is novel and choice methods of eloquence, by employing which the speaker may avoid boring his hearers, especially when addressing a court which decides issues, not according to the letter of the law, but by virtue of its own inherent authority, not allowing the speaker to take his own time, but telling him how long he may have, and not waiting patiently for him to come to the point, but often going so far as to give him a warning, or call him back from a digression, and protest that it has no time to spare.

"Would anyone to-day put up with a speaker who begins by referring to his own poor health,—the usual sort of introduction with Corvinus? Would anyone sit out the five orations against Verres? Would anyone endure the interminable arguments about pleas and procedure which we get in the speeches delivered in defence of M. Tullius or Aulus Caecina? Nowadays your judge travels faster than counsel, and if he cannot find something to engage his interest and prejudice him in your favour in a good-going proof, or in piquant utterances, or in brilliant and highly wrought pen-pictures, he is against you. The general audience, too, and the casual listeners who flock in and out, have come now to insist on a flowery and ornamental style of speaking; they will no more put up with sober, unadorned old-fashionedness in a court of law than if you were to try to reproduce on the stage the gestures of Roscius or Ambivius Turpio. Yes, and our young men, still at the malleable stage of their education, who hang round our public

oratores sectantur, non solum audire, sed etiam referre domum aliquid inlustre et dignum memoria volunt; traduntque in vicem ac saepe in colonias ac provincias suas scribunt, sive sensus aliquis arguta et brevi sententia effulsit, sive locus exquisito et poetico cultu enituit. Exigitur enim iam ab oratore etiam poeticus decor, non Accii aut Pacuvii veterno inquinatus, sed ex Horatii et Vergilii et Lucani sacrario prolatus. Horum igitur auribus et iudiciis obtemperans nostrorum oratorum aetas pulchrior et ornatior exstitit. Neque ideo minus efficaces sunt orationes nostrae quia ad aures iudicantium cum voluptate perveniunt. Quid enim si infirmiora horum temporum templa credas, quia non rudi caemento et informibus tegulis exstruuntur, sed marmore nitent et auro radiantur?

21 Equidem fatebor vobis simpliciter me in quibusdam antiquorum vix risum, in quibusdam autem vix somnum tenere. Nec unum de populo,[1] Canutium aut Attium, *memorabo, ne quid loquar* de Furnio et Toranio quique alii *omnes* in eodem valetudinario haec ossa et hanc maciem probant: ipse mihi Calvus, cum unum et viginti, ut puto, libros reliquerit, vix in una et altera oratiuncula satis facit. Nec dissentire ceteros ab hoc meo iudicio video; quotus enim quisque Calvi in

[1] See note 38, p. 139.

speakers in order to improve themselves, are eager not only to hear but also to take home with them some striking and memorable utterance; they pass it on from mouth to mouth, and often quote it in their home correspondence with country-towns and provinces, whether it be the flash of an epigram embodying some conceit in pointed and terse phraseology, or the glamour of some passage of choice poetical beauty. For the adornment of the poet is demanded nowadays also in the orator, an adornment not disfigured by the mouldiness of Accius or Pacuvius, but fresh from the sacred shrine of a Horace, a Virgil, a Lucan. It is by accommodating itself to the taste and judgment of hearers such as these that the orators of the present day have gained in grace and attractiveness. And the fact that they please the ear does not make our speeches any the less telling in a court of law. Why, one might as well believe that temples are not so strongly built to-day because they are not put together out of coarse uncut stone and ugly-looking bricks, but glitter in marble and are all agleam with gold.

"I make the frank avowal that with some of the 'ancients' I can scarcely keep from laughing, while with others I can scarcely keep awake. And I am not going to name anyone belonging to the rank and file, a Canutius or an Attius, not to mention Furnius and Toranius, and all the others who, being inmates of the same infirmary, have nothing but approval for the familiar skin and bones: Calvus himself, in spite of the fact that he left behind him as many, if I am right, as one-and-twenty volumes, hardly comes up to standard in any one of his addresses, or two at the most. And I do not find that the world at

Asitium aut in Drusum legit? At hercule in omnium studiosorum manibus versantur accusationes quae in Vatinium inscribuntur, ac praecipue secunda ex his oratio; est enim verbis ornata et sententiis, auribus iudicum adcommodata, ut scias ipsum quoque Calvum intellexisse quid melius esset, nec voluntatem ei quo *minus* sublimius et cultius diceret, sed ingenium ac vires defuisse. Quid? ex Caelianis orationibus nempe eae placent, sive universae sive partes earum, in quibus nitorem et altitudinem horum temporum adgnoscimus. Sordes autem *reliquae* verborum [1] et hians compositio et inconditi sensus redolent antiquitatem; nec quemquam adeo antiquarium puto ut Caelium ex ea parte laudet qua antiquus est. Concedamus sane C. Caesari ut propter magnitudinem cogitationum et occupationes rerum minus in eloquentia effecerit quam divinum eius ingenium postulabat, tam hercule quam Brutum philosophiae suae relinquamus,—nam in orationibus minorem esse fama sua etiam admiratores eius fatentur: nisi forte quisquam aut Caesaris pro Decio Samnite aut Bruti pro Deiotaro rege ceterosque eiusdem lentitudinis ac teporis libros legit, nisi qui et carmina eorundem miratur. Fecerunt enim et carmina et in bibliothecas rettulerunt, non melius quam Cicero, sed felicius, quia illos fecisse pauciores sciunt. Asinius

1 See note 39, p. 139.

large dissents from this criticism. How very few there are who read his impeachment of Asitius or Drusus! On the other hand, the orations entitled 'Against Vatinius' are a common text-book with students, especially the second: for it is rich in style as well as in ideas, and well suited to the taste of a law court, so that one may readily see that Calvus himself knew the better part, and that his comparative lack of elevation and elegance was due not so much to want of taste as to want of intellectual force. Take, again, the speeches of Caelius: surely those give satisfaction, either in whole or in part, in which we find the polish and elevation of style that are characteristic of the present day. For the rest, his commonplace phraseology, his slipshod arrangement, and his ill-constructed periods savour of old-fashionedness, and I do not believe that there is anyone so devoted to antiquity as to praise Caelius just because he is old-fashioned. As to Julius Caesar we must no doubt make allowance. It was owing to his vast designs and all-absorbing activities that he accomplished less as an orator than his superhuman genius called for; just as in the case of Brutus we must leave him to his well-loved philosophy, for even his admirers admit that as an orator he did not rise to his reputation. You won't tell me that anybody reads Caesar's oration in defence of Decius the Samnite, or Brutus's in defence of King Deiotarus, or any of the other speeches, all equally slow and equally flat,—unless, indeed, it be some one who is an admirer also of their poetry. For they not only wrote poetry, but what is more they sent copies to the libraries. Their verse is no better than Cicero's, but they have had more luck: it is not so notorious. Asinius too, though he

quoque, quamquam propioribus temporibus natus sit, videtur mihi inter Menenios et Appios studuisse. Pacuvium certe et Accium non solum tragoediis sed etiam orationibus suis expressit: adeo durus et siccus est. Oratio autem, sicut corpus hominis, ea demum pulchra est in qua non eminent venae nec ossa numerantur, sed temperatus ac bonus sanguis implet membra et exsurgit toris ipsosque nervos rubor tegit et decor commendat. Nolo Corvinum insequi, quia nec per ipsum stetit quo minus laetitiam nitoremque nostrorum temporum exprimeret; videmus enim quam[1] iudicio eius vis aut animi aut ingenii suffecerit.

22 Ad Ciceronem venio, cui eadem pugna cum aequalibus suis fuit quae mihi vobiscum est. Illi enim antiquos mirabantur, ipse suorum temporum eloquentiam anteponebat: nec ulla re magis eiusdem aetatis oratores[2] praecurrit quam iudicio. Primus enim excoluit orationem, primus et verbis delectum adhibuit et compositioni artem; locos quoque laetiores attentavit et quasdam sententias invenit, utique in iis orationibus quas senior iam[2] et iuxta finem vitae composuit, id est, postquam magis profecerat usuque et experimentis didicerat quod optimum dicendi genus esset. Nam priores eius orationes non carent vitiis anti-

[1] See note 40, p. 139.   [2] See note 41, p. 139.

is nearer to our own time, must have pursued his studies, as it seems to me, in the company of people like Menenius and Agrippa: at all events he modelled himself upon Pacuvius and Accius in his speeches as well as in his tragedies: so stiff is he, and so dry. No, it is with eloquence as with the human frame. There can be no beauty of form where the veins are prominent, or where one can count the bones: sound healthful blood must fill out the limbs, and riot over the muscles, concealing the sinews in turn under a ruddy complexion and a graceful exterior. I don't want to make an attack on Corvinus, as it was not his fault that he did not exhibit the luxuriance and the polish of the present day: indeed we know how poorly supported his critical faculty was by imagination or intellectual power.

"I come now to Cicero, who had the same battle to fight with his contemporaries that I have with you. While they admired the ancients, he gave the preference to the eloquence of his own day; and it is in taste more than anything else that he outdistances the orators of his period. Cicero was the first to give its proper finish to oratorical style. He was the first to adopt a method of selection in the use of words, and to cultivate artistic arrangement; further, he tried his hand at flowery passages, and was the author of some pointed sayings, at any rate in the speeches which he wrote when well on in years and towards the close of his career, that is to say, when his powers were well developed, and he had learned by experience and practice the qualities of the best type of oratory. As to his earlier speeches, they are not free from the old-fashioned blemishes. He is tedious in his introduc-

quitatis: lentus est in principiis, longus in narrationibus, otiosus circa excessus; tarde commovetur, raro incalescit; pauci sensus apte et cum quodam lumine terminantur. Nihil excerpere, nihil referre possis, et velut in rudi aedificio, firmus sane paries et duraturus, sed non satis expolitus et splendens. Ego autem oratorem, sicut locupletem ac lautum patrem familiae, non eo tantum volo tecto tegi quod imbrem ac ventum arceat, sed etiam quod visum et oculos delectet; non ea solum instrui supellectile quae necessariis usibus sufficiat, sed sit in apparatu eius et aurum et gemmae, ut sumere in manus, ut aspicere saepius libeat. Quaedam vero procul arceantur ut iam oblitterata et olentia: nullum sit verbum velut rubigine infectum, nulli sensus tarda et inerti structura in morem annalium componantur; fugitet foedam et insulsam scurrilitatem, variet compositionem, nec omnes clausulas uno et eodem modo determinet.

23 Nolo inridere 'rotam Fortunae' et 'ius verrinum' et illud tertio quoque sensu in omnibus orationibus pro sententia positum 'esse videatur.' Nam et haec invitus rettuli et plura omisi, quae tamen sola mirantur atque

tions, long-winded in the narrative parts, and wearisome in his digressions. He is slow to rouse himself, and seldom warms to his work; only here and there do you find a sentence that has a rhythmical cadence and a flash-point at the finish. There is nothing you can extract, nothing you can take away with you: it is just as in rough-and-ready construction work, where the walls are strong, in all conscience, and lasting, but lacking in polish and lustre. My own view is that the orator, like a prosperous and well-found householder, ought to live in a house that is not only wind and weather proof, but pleasing also to the eye; he should not only have such furnishings as shall suffice for his essential needs, but also number among his belongings both gold and precious stones, so as to make people want to take him up again and again, and gaze with admiration. Some things there are again that must be carefully avoided, as antiquated and musty. There should be never a word of the rusty, mouldy tinge, never a sentence put together in the lame and listless style of the chroniclers. The orator ought to avoid discreditable and senseless buffoonery, vary his arrangement, and refrain from giving the self-same cadence to all his period-endings.

"I don't want to make fun of Cicero's 'Wheel of Fortune,' and his 'Boar's Sauce,'[1] and the tag *esse videatur,* which he tacks on as a pointless finish for every second sentence throughout his speeches. It has gone against the grain to say what I have said, and there is more that I have left out: though it is precisely these blemishes, and these alone, that are

[1] *ius verrinum* may be either "Boar's sauce" or "Verrine law." The joke occurs in the speeches against Verres, i. 1, § 121.

exprimunt ii qui se antiquos oratores vocant. Neminem nominabo, genus hominum significasse contentus; sed vobis utique versantur ante oculos illi qui Lucilium pro Horatio et Lucretium pro Vergilio legunt, quibus eloquentia Aufidii Bassi aut Servilii Noniani ex comparatione Sisennae aut Varronis sordet, qui rhetorum nostrorum commentarios fastidiunt oderunt, Calvi mirantur. Quos more prisco apud iudicem fabulantes non auditores sequuntur, non populus audit, vix denique litigator perpetitur: adeo maesti et inculti illam ipsam quam iactant sanitatem non firmitate, sed ieiunio consequuntur. Porro ne in corpore quidem valetudinem medici probant quae nimia anxietate contingit; parum est aegrum non esse, fortem et laetum et alacrem volo. Prope abest ab infirmitate in quo sola sanitas laudatur.

Vos vero, *viri* disertissimi, ut potestis, ut facitis, inlustrate saeculum nostrum pulcherrimo genere dicendi. Nam et te, Messalla, video laetissima quaeque antiquorum imitantem, et vos, Materne ac Secunde, ita gravitati sensuum nitorem et cultum verborum miscetis, ea electio inventionis, is ordo rerum,

admired and imitated by those who call themselves orators of the good old school. I mention no names, as it is enough for me to indicate a type; but you of course will have in your mind's eye the archaists who prefer Lucilius to Horace, and Lucretius to Virgil, who consider the style of Aufidius Bassus and Servilius Nonianus very inferior as compared with that of Sisenna or Varro, who, while they admire the draft-speeches which Calvus left behind him, have nothing but feelings of disdain and repugnance for those of our own contemporaries. Such persons as these, when they prose along before a judge in the antique style, cannot hold the attention of their audience; the crowd refuses to listen, and even their clients can scarcely put up with them. So dreary are they and so uncouth: and even the sound condition which they make their boast they owe not to any sturdiness, but to banting. Why, in dealing with the human body, doctors have not much to say in praise of the patient who only keeps well by worrying about his health. It is not enough not to be ill; I like a man to be strong and hearty and vigorous. If soundness is all you can commend in him, he is really next door to an invalid.

"Do you, my eloquent friends, continue—as you are so well able to do—to shed lustre on this age of ours by your noble oratory. You, Messalla, on the one hand, model your style, as I know, on all that is richest in the eloquence of former days; while as for you, Maternus and Secundus, you have such a happy combination of deep thinking with beauty and elegance of expression, you show such taste in the selection and arrangement of your subject-matter, such copiousness where necessary, such brevity where possible, such grace of construction, such

ea quotiens causa poscit ubertas, ea quotiens permittit brevitas, is compositionis decor, ea sententiarum planitas est, sic exprimitis adfectus, sic libertatem temperatis, ut etiam si nostra iudicia malignitas et invidia tardaverit, verum de vobis dicturi sint posteri nostri."

24 Quae cum Aper dixisset, "Adgnoscitisne" inquit Maternus "vim et ardorem Apri nostri? Quo torrente, quo impetu saeculum nostrum defendit! Quam copiose ac varie vexavit antiquos! Quanto non solum ingenio ac spiritu, sed etiam eruditione et arte ab ipsis mutuatus est per quae mox ipsos incesseret! Tuum tamen, Messalla, promissum immutasse non debet; neque enim defensorem antiquorum exigimus, nec quemquam nostrum, quamquam modo laudati sumus, iis quos insectatus est Aper comparamus. Ac ne ipse quidem ita sentit, sed more vetere et a nostris philosophis saepe celebrato sumpsit sibi contra dicendi partes. Igitur exprome nobis non laudationem antiquorum (satis enim illos fama sua laudat), sed causas cur in tantum ab eloquentia eorum recesserimus, cum praesertim centum et viginti annos ab interitu Ciceronis in hunc diem effici ratio temporum collegerit."

25 Tum Messalla: "Sequar praescriptam a te, Materne, formam; neque enim diu contra dicendum est Apro, qui primum, ut opinor, nominis controversiam movit, tamquam parum proprie antiqui vocarentur quos satis

perspicuity of thought, so well do you give expression to deep emotion, so restrained are you in your outspokenness, that even if spite and ill-will interfere with a favourable verdict from us who are your contemporaries, posterity assuredly will do you justice."

"There is no mistaking, is there," said Maternus, when Aper had finished speaking, "our friend's passionate impetuosity? With what a flow of words, with what a rush of eloquence, did he champion the age in which we live! With what readiness and versatility did he make war upon the ancients! What natural ability and inspiration, and more than that, what learning and skill did he display, borrowing from their own armoury the very weapons which he was afterwards to turn against themselves! All the same, Messalla, he must not be allowed to make you break your promise. It is not a defence of antiquity that we need, and in spite of the compliments Aper has just been paying us, there is no one among us whom we would set alongside of those who have been the object of his attack. He does not think there is, any more than we do. No; adopting an old method and one much in vogue with the philosophers of the present day, what he did was to take on himself the rôle of an opponent. Well then, do you set before us, not a eulogy of the ancients (their renown is their best eulogy), but the reasons why we have fallen so far short of their eloquence, and that though chronology has proved to demonstration that from the death of Cicero to the present time is an interval of only one hundred and twenty years."

Thereupon Messalla spoke as follows: "I shall keep to the lines you have laid down, Maternus; Aper's argument does not need any lengthy refutation. He began by raising an objection which hinges,

constat ante centum annos fuisse. Mihi autem de vocabulo pugna non est; sive illos antiquos sive maiores sive quo alio mavult nomine appellet, dum modo in confesso sit eminentiorem illorum temporum eloquentiam fuisse. Ne illi quidem parti sermonis eius repugno, † si cominus fatetur [1] plures formas dicendi etiam isdem saeculis, nedum diversis exstitisse. Sed quo modo inter Atticos oratores primae Demostheni tribuuntur, proximum autem locum Aeschines et Hyperides et Lysias et Lycurgus obtinent, omnium *tamen* [2] concessu haec oratorum aetas maxime probatur, sic apud nos Cicero quidem ceteros eorundem temporum disertos antecessit, Calvus autem et Asinius et Caesar et Caelius et Brutus iure et prioribus et sequentibus anteponuntur. Nec refert quod inter se specie differunt, cum genere consentiant. Adstrictior Calvus, numerosior Asinius, splendidior Caesar, amarior Caelius, gravior Brutus, vehementior et plenior et valentior Cicero: omnes tamen eandem sanitatem eloquentiae *prae se* ferunt, ut si omnium pariter libros in manum sumpseris scias, quamvis in diversis ingeniis, esse quandam iudicii ac voluntatis similitudinem et cognationem. Nam quod invicem se obtrectaverunt, et sunt aliqua epistulis eorum inserta ex quibus mutua malignitas detegitur, non est oratorum vitium, sed hominum. Nam et Calvum et Asinium et ipsum

[1] See note 42, p. 139. [2] See note 43, p. 140.

as it seems to me, on a mere name. Aper thinks it ncorrect to apply the term 'ancients' to persons who are known to have lived only one hundred years ago. Now I am not going to fight about a word; he may call them 'ancients' or 'ancestors,' or anything else he likes, so long as it is admitted that the eloquence of those days stood higher than ours. No more have I any objection to that part of his argument in which he comes to the point, and acknowledges that not only at different but at the same epochs more types of eloquence than one have made their appearance. But just as in Attic oratory the palm is awarded to Demosthenes, while next in order come Aeschines, Hyperides, Lysias, and Lycurgus, and yet this era of eloquence is by universal consent considered as a whole the best; so at Rome it was Cicero who outdistanced the other speakers of his own day, while Calvus and Asinius and Caesar and Caelius and Brutus are rightly classed both above their predecessors and above those who came after them. In the face of this generic agreement it is unimportant that there are special points of difference. Calvus is more concise, Asinius more rhythmical, Caesar more stately, Caelius more pungent, Brutus more dignified, Cicero more impassioned, fuller, and more forceful; yet they all exhibit the same healthfulness of style, to such an extent that if you take up all their speeches at the same time you will find that, in spite of diversity of talent, there is a certain family likeness in taste and aspiration. As to their mutual recriminations,—and there do occur in their correspondence some passages that reveal the bad blood there was between them,—that is to be charged against them not as orators, but as human beings. With Calvus and Asinius—yes, and

Ciceronem credo solitos et invidere et livere et ceteris humanae infirmitatis vitiis adfici: solum inter hos arbitror Brutum non malignitate nec invidia, sed simpliciter et ingenue iudicium animi sui detexisse. An ille Ciceroni invideret, qui mihi videtur ne Caesari quidem invidisse? Quod ad Servium Galbam et C. Laelium attinet, et si quos alios antiquiorum agitare *Aper*[1] non destitit, non exigit defensorem, cum fatear quaedam eloquentiae eorum ut nascenti adhuc nec satis adultae defuisse.

26 Ceterum si omisso optimo illo et perfectissimo genere eloquentiae eligenda sit forma dicendi, malim hercle C. Gracchi impetum aut L. Crassi maturitatem quam calamistros Maecenatis aut tinnitus Gallionis: adeo melius est orationem vel hirta toga induere quam fucatis et meretriciis vestibus insignire. Neque enim oratorius iste, immo hercle ne virilis quidem cultus est, quo plerique temporum nostrorum actores ita utuntur ut lascivia verborum et levitate sententiarum et licentia compositionis histrionales modos exprimant. Quodque vix auditu fas esse debeat, laudis et gloriae et ingenii loco plerique iactant cantari saltarique commentarios suos; unde oritur illa foeda

[1] See note 44, p. 140.

with Cicero himself—it was quite usual, I take it, to harbour feelings of jealousy and spite; they were liable to all the failings that mark our poor human nature. To my thinking Brutus is the only one of them who showed no rancour and no ill-will: in straightforward and ingenuous fashion he spoke out what was in his mind. Was it likely that Brutus would have any ill-will for Cicero? Why, he does not seem to me to have felt any for Julius Caesar himself. As to Servius Galba and Gaius Laelius, and any of the other 'ancients,' speaking comparatively, whom Aper so persistently disparaged, their case does not call for any defence; I am free to admit that their style of eloquence had the defects that are incidental to infancy and immaturity.

"If, however, one had to choose a style without taking absolutely ideal standards of eloquence into account, I should certainly prefer the fiery spirit of Gaius Gracchus or the mellowness of Lucius Crassus to the coxcombry of a Maecenas or the jingle-jangle of a Gallio; for it is undoubtedly better to clothe what you have to say even in rough homespun than to parade it in the gay-coloured garb of a courtesan. There is a fashion much in vogue with quite a number of counsel nowadays that ill befits an orator, and is indeed scarce worthy even of a man. They make it their aim, by wantonness of language, by shallow-pated conceits, and by irregular arrangement, to produce the rhythms of stage-dancing; and whereas they ought to be ashamed even to have such a thing said by others, many of them actually boast that their speeches can be sung and danced to, as though that were something creditable, distinguished, and clever. This is the origin of

et praepostera, sed tamen frequens exclamatio[1], ut oratores nostri tenere dicere, histriones diserte saltare dicantur. Equidem non negaverim Cassium Severum, quem solum Aper noster nominare ausus est, si iis comparetur qui postea fuerunt, posse oratorem vocari, quamquam in magna parte librorum suorum plus bilis habeat quam sanguinis; primus enim contempto ordine rerum, omissa modestia ac pudore verborum, ipsis etiam quibus utitur armis incompositus et studio feriendi plerumque deiectus, non pugnat, sed rixatur. Ceterum, ut dixi, sequentibus comparatus et varietate eruditionis et lepore urbanitatis et ipsarum virium robore multum ceteros superat, quorum neminem Aper nominare et velut in aciem educere sustinuit. Ego autem exspectabam ut incusato Asinio et Caelio et Calvo aliud nobis agmen produceret, pluresque vel certe totidem nominaret, ex quibus alium Ciceroni, alium Caesari, singulis deinde singulos opponeremus. Nunc detrectasse nominatim antiquos oratores contentus neminem sequentium laudare ausus est nisi in publicum et in commune—veritus, credo, ne multos offenderet si paucos excerpsisset. Quotus enim quisque scholasticorum non hac sua persuasione

[1] See note 45, p. 140.

the epigram, so shameful and so wrong-headed, but yet so common, which says that at Rome 'orators speak voluptuously and actors dance eloquently.' With reference to Cassius Severus, who is the only one our friend Aper ventured to name, I should not care to deny that, if he is compared with those who came after him, he may be called a real orator, though a considerable portion of his compositions contains more of the choleric element than of good red blood. Cassius was the first to treat lightly the arrangement of his material, and to disregard propriety and restraint of utterance. He is unskilful in the use of the weapons of his choice, and so keen is he to hit that he quite frequently loses his balance. So, instead of being a warrior, he is simply a brawler. As already stated, however, compared with those who came after him, he is far ahead of them in all-round learning, in the charm of his wit, and in sheer strength and pith. Aper could not prevail on himself to name any of those successors of Cassius, and to bring them into the firing-line. My expectation, on the other hand, was that after censuring Asinius and Caelius and Calvus, he would bring along another squad, and would name a greater or at least an equal number from whom we might pit one against Cicero, another against Caesar, and so, champion against champion, throughout the list. Instead of this he has restricted himself to a criticism of certain stated orators among the 'ancients,' without venturing to commend any of their successors, except in the most general terms. He was afraid, I fancy, of giving offence to many by specifying only a few. Why, almost all our professional rhetoricians plume themselves on their pet conviction that each of them

fruitur, ut se ante Ciceronem numeret, sed plane post Gabinianum?

At ego non verebor[1] nominare singulos, quo facilius propositis exemplis adpareat quibus gradibus fracta sit et deminuta eloquentia."

27 "Adpara te"[2] inquit Maternus "et potius exsolve promissum. Neque enim hoc colligi desideramus, disertiores esse antiquos, quod apud me quidem in confesso est, sed causas exquirimus quas te solitum tractare paulo ante *dixisti* plane mitior et eloquentiae temporum nostrorum minus iratus, antequam te Aper offenderet maiores tuos lacessendo."

"Non sum" inquit "offensus Apri *mei* disputatione, nec vos offendi decebit, si quid forte aures vestras perstringat, cum sciatis hanc esse eius modi sermonum legem, iudicium animi citra damnum adfectus proferre."

"Perge" inquit Maternus "et cum de antiquis loquaris, utere antiqua libertate, a qua vel magis degeneravimus quam ab eloquentia."

28 Et Messalla, "Non reconditas, Materne, causas requiris, nec aut tibi ipsi aut huic Secundo vel huic Apro ignotas, etiam si mihi partes adsignatis proferendi in medium quae omnes sentimus. Quis

[1] See note 46, p. 140.
[2] See note 47, p. 140.

is to be ranked as superior to Cicero, though distinctly inferior to Gabinianus.

"I shall not hesitate, on the other hand, to name individuals in order to show, by the citation of instances, the successive stages in the decline and fall of eloquence."

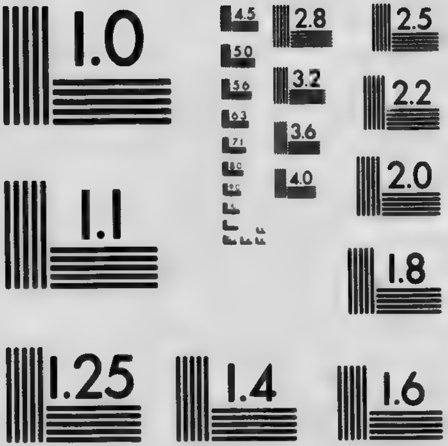
Thereupon Maternus exclaimed: "Get ready, and rather make good your promise. We do not want you to lead up to the conclusion that the ancients excelled us in eloquence. I regard that as an established fact. What we are asking for is the reasons of the decline. You said a little while ago that this forms a frequent subject of consideration with you: that was when you were in a distinctly milder frame of mind, and not so greatly incensed against contemporary eloquence,—in fact, before Aper gave you a shock by his attack on your ancestors."

"My good friend Aper's discourse did not shock me," Messalla replied, "and no more must you be shocked by anything that may chance to grate upon your ears. You know that it is the rule in talks of this kind to speak out one's inmost convictions without prejudice to friendly feeling."

"Go on," said Maternus, "and in dealing with the men of olden times see that you avail yourself of all the old-fashioned outspokenness which we have fallen away from even more than we have from eloquence."

"My dear Maternus," Messalla continued, "the reasons you ask for are not far to seek. You know them yourself, and our good friends Secundus and Aper know them too, though you want me to take the rôle of the person who holds forth on views that are common to all of us. Everybody is aware that it





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enim ignorat et eloquentiam et ceteras artes desciv-isse ab illa vetere gloria non inopia hominum, sed desidia iuventutis et neglegentia parentum et inscientia praecipientium et oblivione moris antiqui? quae mala primum in urbe nata, mox per Italiam fusa, iam in provincias manant. Quamquam vestra vobis notiora sunt: ego de urbe et his propriis ac vernaculis vitiis loquar, quae natos statim excipiunt et per singulos aetatis gradus cumulantur, si prius de severitate ac disciplina maiorum circa educandos formandosque liberos pauca praedixero.

Nam pridem suus cuique filius, ex casta parente natus, non in cellula emptae nutricis, sed gremio ac sinu matris educabatur, cuius praecipua laus erat tueri domum et inservire liberis. Eligebatur autem maior aliqua natu propinqua, cuius probatis spectatisque moribus omnis eiusdem familiae suboles committeretur; coram qua neque dicere fas erat quod turpe dictu, neque facere quod inhonestum factu videretur. Ac non studia modo curasque, sed remissiones etiam lususque puerorum sanctitate quadam ac verecundia temperabat. Sic Corneliam Gracchorum, sic Aureliam Caesaris, sic Atiam Augusti praefuisse educationibus ac produxisse principes liberos accepimus. Quae disciplina ac severitas eo pertinebat ut sincera et integra et nullis pravitatibus

is not for lack of votaries that eloquence and the other arts as well have fallen from their former high estate, but because of the laziness of our young men, the carelessness of parents, the ignorance of teachers, and the decay of the old-fashioned virtue. It was at Rome that this backsliding first began, but afterwards it permeated Italy and now it is making its way abroad. You know provincial conditions, however, better than I do; I am going to speak of the capital and of our home-grown Roman vices, which catch on to us as soon as we are born, and increase with each successive stage of our development. But first I must say a word or two about the rigorous system which our forefathers followed in the matter of the upbringing and training of their children.

"In the good old days, every man's son, born in wedlock, was brought up not in the chamber of some hireling nurse, but in his mother's lap, and at her knee. And that mother could have no higher praise than that she managed the house and gave herself to her children. Again, some elderly relative would be selected in order that to her, as a person who had been tried and never found wanting, might he entrusted the care of all the youthful scions of the same house; in the presence of such an one no base word could be uttered without grave offence, and no wrong deed done. Religiously and with the utmost delicacy she regulated not only the serious tasks of her youthful charges, but their recreations also and their games. It was in this spirit, we are told, that Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, directed their upbringing, Aurelia that of Caesar, Atia of Augustus: thus it was that these mothers trained their princely children. The object of this rigorous system was that the natural disposition of every child, while still sound at

detorta unius cuiusque natura toto statim pectore arriperet artes honestas, et sive ad rem militarem sive ad iuris scientiam sive ad eloquentiae studium inclinasset, id solum ageret, id universum hauriret.

29 At nunc natus infans delegatur Graeculae alicui ancillae, cui adiungitur unus aut alter ex omnibus servis, plerumque vilissimus nec cuiquam serio ministerio adcommodatus. Horum fabulis et erroribus teneri statim et rudes animi imbuuntur; nec quisquam in tota domo pensi habet quid coram infante domino aut dicat aut faciat. Quin etiam ipsi parentes nec probitati neque modestiae parvulos adsuefaciunt, sed lasciviae et dicacitati, per quae paulatim impudentia inrepit et sui alienique contemptus. Iam vero propria et peculiaria huius urbis vitia paene in utero matris concipi mihi videntur, histrionalis favor et gladiatorum equorumque studia: quibus occupatus et obsessus animus quantulum loci bonis artibus relinquit? Quotum quemque invenies qui domi quicquam aliud loquatur? Quos alios adulescentulorum sermones excipimus, si quando auditoria intravimus? Ne praeceptores quidem ullas crebriores cum auditoribus suis

the core and untainted, not warped as yet by any vicious tendencies, might at once lay hold with heart and soul on virtuous accomplishments, and whether its bent was towards the army, or the law, or the pursuit of eloquence, might make that its sole aim and its all-absorbing interest.

"Nowadays, on the other hand, our children are handed over at their birth to some silly little Greek serving-maid, with a male slave, who may be any one, to help her,—quite frequently the most worthless member of the whole establishment, incompetent for any serious service. It is from the foolish tittle-tattle of such persons that the children receive their earliest impressions, while their minds are still pliant and unformed; and there is not a soul in the whole house who cares a jot what he says or does in the presence of its lisping little lord. Yes, and the parents themselves make no effort to train their little ones in goodness and self-control; they grow up in an atmosphere of laxity and pertness, in which they come gradually to lose all sense of shame, and all respect both for themselves and for other people. Again, there are the peculiar and characteristic vices of this metropolis of ours, taken on, as it seems to me, almost in the mother's womb,—the passion for play actors, and the mania for gladiatorial shows and horse-racing; and when the mind is engrossed in such occupations, what room is left over for higher pursuits? How few are to be found whose home-talk runs to any other subjects than these? What else do we overhear our younger men talking about whenever we enter their lecture-halls? And the teachers are just as bad. With them, too, such topics supply material for gossip with their classes more frequently than any others; for it is not by the strict administra-

fabulas habent; colligunt enim discipulos non severitate disciplinae nec ingenii experimento, sed ambitione salutationum et inlecebris adulationis.

30 Transeo prima discentium elementa, in quibus et ipsis parum laboratur: nec in auctoribus cognoscendis nec in evolvenda antiquitate nec in notitia vel rerum vel hominum vel temporum satis operae insumitur. Sed expetuntur quos rhetoras vocant; quorum professio quando primum in hanc urbem introducta sit, quamque nullam apud maiores nostros auctoritatem habuerit, statim dicturus referam necesse est animum ad eam disciplinam qua usos esse eos oratores accepimus quorum infinitus labor et cotidiana meditatio et in omni genere studiorum adsiduae exercitationes ipsorum etiam continentur libris. Notus est vobis utique Ciceronis liber qui Brutus inscribitur, in cuius extrema parte (nam prior commemorationem veterum oratorum habet) sua initia, suos gradus, suae eloquentiae velut quandam educationem refert: se apud Q. Mucium ius civile didicisse, apud Philonem Academicum, apud Diodotum Stoicum omnes philosophiae partes penitus hausisse; neque iis doctoribus contentum quorum ei copia in urbe contigerat, Achaiam quoque et Asiam peragrasse, ut omnem omnium artium varietatem complecteretur. Itaque hercle in libris Ciceronis deprehendere licet non geometriae, non musicae, non grammaticae, non

tion of discipline, or by giving proof of their ability to teach that they get pupils together, but by pushing themselves into notice at morning calls and by the tricks of toadyism.

"I pass by the first rudiments of education, though even these are taken too lightly: it is in the reading of authors, and in gaining a knowledge of the past, and in making acquaintance with things[1] and persons and occasions that too little solid work is done. Recourse is had instead to the so-called rhetoricians. As I mean to speak in the immediate sequel of the period at which this vocation first made its way to Rome, and of the small esteem in which it was held by our ancestors, I must advert to the system which we are told was followed by those orators whose unremitting industry and daily preparation and continuous practice in every department of study are referred to in their own published works. You are of course familiar with Cicero's 'Brutus,' in the concluding portion of which treatise—the first part contains a review of the speakers of former days—he gives an account of his own first beginnings, his gradual progress, and what I may call his evolution as an orator. He tells us how he studied civil law with Q. Mucius, and thoroughly absorbed philosophy in all its departments as a pupil of Philo the Academic and Diodotus the Stoic; and not being satisfied with the teachers who had been accessible to him at Rome, he went to Greece, and travelled also through Asia Minor, in order to acquire a comprehensive training in every variety of knowledge. Hence it comes that in Cicero's works one may detect the fact that he was not lacking in a knowledge of mathematics, of music, of

[1] See note 48, p. 141.

denique ullius ingenuae artis scientiam ei defuisse. Ille dialecticae subtilitatem, ille moralis partis utilitatem, ille rerum motus causasque cognoverat. Ita est enim, optimi viri, ita: ex multa eruditione et plurimis artibus et omnium rerum scientia exundat et exuberat illa admirabilis eloquentia; neque oratoris vis et facultas, sicut ceterarum rerum, angustis et brevibus terminis cluditur, sed is est orator qui de omni quaestione pulchre et ornate et ad persuadendum apte dicere pro dignitate rerum, ad utilitatem temporum, cum voluptate audientium possit.

31 Hoc sibi illi veteres persuaserant, ad hoc efficiendum intellegebant opus esse, non ut in rhetorum scholis declamarent, nec ut fictis nec ullo modo ad veritatem accedentibus controversiis linguam modo et vocem exercerent, sed ut iis artibus pectus implerent in quibus de bonis ac malis, de honesto et turpi, de iusto et iniusto disputatur; haec enim est oratori subiecta ad dicendum materia. Nam in iudiciis fere de aequitate, in deliberationibus *de utilitate, in laudationibus* [1] de honestate disserimus, ita *tamen* ut plerumque haec in vicem misceantur: de quibus copiose et varie et ornate nemo dicere potest nisi qui cognovit naturam humanam et vim virtutum pravitatemque

[1] See note 49, p. 141.

linguistics—in [illegible]t, of any department of the higher learning. Yes, Cicero was quite at home in the subtleties of dialectic, in the practical lessons of ethical philosophy, in the changes and origins of natural phenomena. Yes, my good friends, that is the fact: it is only from a wealth of learning, and a multitude of accomplishments, and a knowledge that is universal that his marvellous eloquence wells forth like a mighty stream. The orator's function and activity is not, as is the case with other pursuits, hemmed in all round within narrow boundaries. He only deserves the [illegible] who has the ability to speak on any and e[illegible] with grace and distinction of style, in a ma[illegible]ed to win conviction, appropriately to the d[illegible] of his subject-matter, suitably to the case in hand, and with resulting gratification to his audience.

"This was fully understood by the men of former days. They were well aware that, in order to attain the end in view, the practice of declamation in the schools of rhetoric was not the essential matter,—the training merely of tongue and voice in imaginary debates which had no point of contact with real life. No, for them the one thing needful was to stock the mind with those accomplishments which deal with good and evil, virtue and vice, justice and injustice. It is this that forms the subject-matter of oratory. Speaking broadly, in judicial oratory our argument turns upon fair dealing, in the oratory of debate upon advantage, in eulogies upon moral character, though these topics quite frequently overlap. Now it is impossible for any speaker to treat them with fullness, and variety, and elegance, unless he has made a study of human nature, of the meaning

vitiorum et intellectum eorum quae nec in virtutibus nec in vitiis numerantur. Ex his fontibus etiam illa profluunt, ut facilius iram iudicis vel instiget vel leniat qui scit quid ira, et promptius ad miserationem impellat qui scit quid sit misericordia et quibus animi motibus concitetur. In his artibus exercitationibusque versatus orator, sive apud infestos sive apud cupidos sive apud invidentes sive apud tristes sive apud timentes dicendum habuerit, tenebit venas animorum, et prout cuiusque natura postulabit adhibebit manum et temperabit orationem, parato omni instrumento et ad omnem usum reposito. Sunt apud quos adstrictum et collectum et singula statim argumenta concludens dicendi genus plus fidei meretur: apud hos dedisse operam dialecticae proficiet. Alios fusa et aequalis et ex communibus ducta sensibus oratio magis delectat: ad hos permovendos mutuabimur a Peripateticis aptos et in omnem disputationem paratos iam locos. Dabunt Academici pugnacitatem, Plato altitudinem, Xenophon iucunditatem; ne Epicuri quidem et Metrodori honestas quasdam exclamationes adsumere iisque, prout res poscit, uti alienum erit oratori. Neque enim sapientem informamus neque Stoicorum comitem, sed eum qui quasdam artes

of goodness and the wickedness of vice, and unless he has learnt to appreciate the significance of what ranks neither on the side of virtue nor on that of vice. This is the source from which other qualifications also are derived. The man who knows what anger is will be better able either to work on or to mollify the resentment of a judge, just as he who understands compassion, and the emotions by which it is aroused, will find it easier to move him to pity. If your orator has made himself familiar with these branches by study and practice, whether he has to address himself to a hostile or a friendly or a grudging audience, whether his hearers are ill-humoured or apprehensive, he will feel their pulse, and will handle them in every case as their character requires, and will give the right tone to what he has to say, keeping the various implements of his craft lying ready to hand for any and every purpose. There are some with whom a concise, succinct style carries most conviction, one that makes the several lines of proof yield a rapid conclusion: with such it will be an advantage to have paid attention to dialectic. Others are more taken with a smooth and steady flow of speech, drawn from the fountain-head of universal experience: in order to make an impression upon these we shall borrow from the Peripatetics their stock arguments, suited and ready in advance for either side of any discussion. Combativeness will be the contribution of the Academics, sublimity that of Plato, and charm that of Xenophon; nay, there will be nothing amiss in a speaker taking over even some of the excellent aphorisms of Epicurus and Metrodorus, and applying them as the case may demand. It is not a professional philosopher that we are delineating, nor a hanger-on of the Stoics, but the man

haurire, omnes libare debet. Ideoque et iuris civilis scientiam veteres oratores comprehendebant, et grammatica musica geometria imbuebantur. Incidunt enim causae, plurimae quidem ac paene omnes, quibus iuris notitia desideratur, pleraeque autem in quibus haec quoque scientia requiritur.

32 Nec quisquam respondeat sufficere ut ad tempus simplex quiddam et uniforme doceamur. Primum enim aliter utimur propriis, aliter commodatis, longeque interesse manifestum est possideat quis quae profert an mutuetur. Deinde ipsa multarum artium scientia etiam aliud agentes nos ornat, atque ubi minime credas eminet et excellit. Idque non doctus modo et prudens auditor, sed etiam populus intellegit, ac statim ita laude prosequitur ut legitime studuisse, ut per omnes eloquentiae numeros isse, ut denique oratorem esse fateatur; quem non posse aliter exsistere nec exstitisse umquam confirmo nisi eum qui, tamquam in aciem omnibus armis instructus, sic in forum omnibus artibus armatus exierit. Quod adeo neglegitur ab horum temporum disertis ut in actionibus eorum huius quoque cotidiani sermonis foeda ac

who, while he ought thoroughly to absorb certain branches of study, should also have a bowing acquaintance with them all. That is the reason why the orators of former days made a point of acquiring a knowledge of civil law, while they received a tincture also of literature, music, and mathematics. In the cases that come one's way, what is essential in most instances, indeed almost invariably, is legal knowledge, but there are often others in which you are expected to be well versed also in the subjects just mentioned.

"Do not let any one argue in reply that it is enough for us to be coached in some straightforward and clearly defined issue in order to meet the case immediately before us. To begin with, the use we make of what belongs to ourselves is quite different from our use of what we take on loan: there is obviously a wide gulf between owning what we give out and borrowing it from others. In the next place, breadth of culture is an ornament that tells of itself even when one is not making a point of it: it comes prominently into view where you would least expect it. This fact is fully appreciated not only by the learned and scholarly portion of the audience, but also by the rank and file. They cheer the speaker from the start, protesting that he has been properly trained, that he has gone through all the points of good oratory, and that he is, in short, an orator in the true sense of the word: and such an one cannot be, as I maintain, and never was any other than he who enters the lists of debate with all the equipment of a man of learning, like a warrior taking the field in full armour. Our clever speakers of to-day, however, lose sight of this ideal to such an extent that one can detect in their pleadings the shameful and discreditable blemishes

pudenda vitia deprehendantur; ut ignorent leges, non teneant senatus consulta, ius *huius* civitatis [1] ultro derideant, sapientiae vero studium et praecepta prudentium penitus reformident. In paucissimos sensus et angustas sententias detrudunt eloquentiam velut expulsam regno suo, ut quae olim omnium artium domina pulcherrimo comitatu pectora implebat, nunc circumcisa et amputata, sine apparatu, sine honore, paene dixerim sine ingenuitate, quasi una ex sordidissimis artificiis discatur.

Ergo hanc primam et praecipuam causam arbitror cur in tantum ab eloquentia antiquorum oratorum recesserimus. Si testes desiderantur, quos potiores nominabo quam apud Graecos Demosthenem, quem studiosissimum Platonis auditorem fuisse memoriae proditum est? Et Cicero [2] his, ut opinor, verbis refert, quidquid in eloquentia effecerit, id se non rhetorum *officinis*, sed Academiae spatiis consecutum. Sunt aliae causae, magnae et graves, quas a vobis aperiri aequum est, quoniam quidem ego iam meum munus explevi, et quod mihi in consuetudine est, satis multos offendi, quos, si forte haec audierint, certum habeo dicturos me, dum iuris et philosophiae scientiam tamquam oratori necessariam laudo, ineptiis meis plausisse."

33 Et Maternus "Mihi quidem" inquit "susceptum a te munus adeo peregisse nondum videris ut incohasse

[1] See note 50, p. 142.
[2] See note 51, p. 142.

even of our everyday speech. They know nothing of statute-law, they have no hold of the decrees of the senate, they go out of their way to show contempt for the law of the constitution, and as for the pursuit of philosophy and the sages' saws they regard them with downright dismay. Eloquence is by them degraded, like a discrowned queen, to a few commonplaces and cramped conceits. She who in days of yore reigned in the hearts of men as the mistress of all the arts, encircled by a brilliant retinue, is now curtailed and mutilated, shorn of all her state, all her distinction, I had almost said all her freedom, and is learnt like any vulgar handicraft.

"This then I take to be the first and foremost reason why we have degenerated to such an extent from the eloquence of the orators of old. If you want witnesses, what weightier evidence can I produce than Demosthenes among the Greeks, who is said to have been one of Plato's most enthusiastic students? Our own Cicero tells us too—I think in so many words—that anything he accomplished as an orator he owed not to the workshops of the rhetorician, but to the spacious precincts of the Academy. There are other reasons, important and weighty, which ought in all fairness to be unfolded by you, since I have now done my part and have as usual put up the backs of quite a number, who will be sure to say, if my words chance to reach their ears, that it is only in order to cry up my own pet vanities that I have been extolling a knowledge of law and philosophy as indispensable to the orator."

"Nay," said Maternus, "it seems to me that you have failed so far to fulfil the task you undertook. You have only made a beginning of it, and you have traced out for us what I take to be nothing more

tantum et velut vestigia ac liniamenta quaedam ostendisse videaris. Nam quibus *artibus* instrui veteres oratores soliti sint dixisti, differentiamque nostrae desidiae et inscientiae adversus acerrima et fecundissima eorum studia demonstrasti: cetera exspecto, ut quem ad modum ex te didici quid aut illi scierint aut nos nesciamus, ita hoc quoque cognoscam, quibus exercitationibus iuvenes iam et forum ingressuri confirmare et alere ingenia sua soliti sint. Neque enim tantum arte et scientia, sed longe magis facultate et *usu* eloquentiam contineri, nec tu, puto, abnues et hi significare vultu videntur."

Deinde cum Aper quoque et Secundus idem adnuissent, Messalla quasi rursus incipiens: "Quoniam initia et semina veteris eloquentiae satis demonstrasse videor, docendo quibus artibus antiqui oratores institui erudirique soliti sint, persequar nunc exercitationes eorum. Quamquam ipsis artibus inest exercitatio, nec quisquam percipere tot tam varias ac reconditas res potest, nisi ut scientiae meditatio, meditationi facultas, facultati usus eloquentiae accedat. Per quae colligitur eandem esse rationem et percipiendi quae proferas et proferendi quae perceperis. Sed si cui obscuriora haec videntur isque scientiam ab exercitatione

than the bare outline of the subject. You have spoken, it is true, of the accomplishments which formed as a rule the equipment of the orators of bygone days, and you have set forth our indolence and ignorance in strong contrast to their enthusiastic and fruitful application. But I am looking for what is to come next. You have taught me the extent of their knowledge and our abysmal ignorance: what I want also to know about is the methods of training by which it was customary for their young men, when about to enter on professional life, to strengthen and develop their intellectual powers. For the true basis of eloquence is not theoretical knowledge only, but in a far greater degree natural capacity and practical exercise. To this view I am sure you will not demur, and our friends here, to judge by their looks, seem to indicate concurrence."

Both Aper and Secundus expressed agreement with this statement, whereupon Messalla made what may be called a fresh start. "Since I have given," he said, "what seems to be a sufficient account of the first beginnings and the germs of ancient oratory, by setting forth the branches on which the orators of former days were wont to base their training and instruction, I shall now proceed to take up their practical exercises. And yet theory itself involves practice, and it is impossible for any one to grasp so many diverse and abstruse subjects, unless his theoretical knowledge is re-enforced by practice, his practice by natural ability, and his ability by experience of public speaking. The inference is that there is a certain identity between the method of assimilating what you express and that of expressing what you have assimilated. But if any one thinks this a dark saying, and wants to separate theory from practice, he must at least admit

separat, illud certe concedet, instructum et plenum his artibus animum longe paratiorem ad eas exercitationes venturum quae propriae esse oratorum videntur.

34 Ergo apud maiores nostros iuvenis ille qui foro et eloquentiae parabatur, imbutus iam domestica disciplina, refertus honestis studiis, deducebatur a patre vel a propinquis ad eum oratorem qui principem in civitate locum obtinebat. Hunc sectari, hunc prosequi, huius omnibus dictionibus interesse sive in iudiciis sive in contionibus adsuescebat, ita ut altercationes quoque exciperet et iurgiis interesset, utque sic dixerim, pugnare in proelio disceret. Magnus ex hoc usus, multum constantiae, plurimum iudicii iuvenibus statim contingebat, in media luce studentibus atque inter ipsa discrimina, ubi nemo impune stulte aliquid aut contrarie dicit quo minus et iudex respuat et adversarius exprobret, ipsi denique advocati aspernentur. Igitur vera statim et incorrupta eloquentia imbuebantur; et quamquam unum sequerentur, tamen omnes eiusdem aetatis patronos in plurimis et causis et iudiciis cognoscebant; habebantque ipsius populi diversissimarum aurium copiam, ex qua facile deprehenderent quid in quoque vel probaretur vel displiceret. Ita nec praeceptor deerat, optim-

that the man whose mind is fully furnished with such theoretical knowledge will come better prepared to the practical exercises which are commonly regarded as the distinctive training of the orator.

"Well then, in the good old days the young man who was destined for the oratory of the bar, after receiving the rudiments of a sound training at home, and storing his mind with liberal culture, was taken by his father, or his relations, and placed under the care of some orator who held a leading position at Rome. The youth had to get the habit of following his patron about, of escorting him in public, of supporting him at all his appearances as a speaker, whether in the law courts or on the platform, hearing also his word-combats at first hand, standing by him in his duellings, and learning, as it were, to fight in the fighting-line. It was a method that secured at once for the young students a considerable amount of experience, great self-possession, and a goodly store of sound judgment: for they carried on their studies in the light of open day, and amid the very shock of battle, under conditions in which any stupid or ill-advised statement brings prompt retribution in the shape of the judge's disapproval, taunting criticism from your opponent—yes, and from your own supporters expressions of dissatisfaction. So it was a genuine and unndulterated eloquence that they were initiated in from the very first; and though they attached themselves to a single speaker, yet they got to know all the contemporary members of the bar in a great variety of both civil and criminal cases. Moreover a public meeting gave them the opportunity of noting marked divergences of taste, so that they could easily detect what commended itself in the case of each individual speaker, and what on the other hand

us quidem et electissimus, qui faciem eloquentiae, non imaginem praestaret, nec adversarii et aemuli ferro, non rudibus dimicantes, nec auditorium semper plenum, semper novum, ex invidis et faventibus, ut nec bene *nec male* dicta dissimularentur. Scitis enim magnam illam et duraturam eloquentiae famam non minus in diversis subselliis parari quam suis; inde quin immo constantius surgere, ibi fidelius corroborari. Atque hercule sub eius modi praeceptoribus iuvenis ille de quo loquimur, oratorum discipulus, fori auditor, sectator iudiciorum, eruditus et adsuefactus alienis experimentis, cui cotidie audienti notae leges, non novi iudicum vultus, frequens in oculis consuetudo contionum, saepe cognitae populi aures, sive accusationem susceperat sive defensionem, solus statim et unus cuicumque causae par erat. Nono decimo aetatis anno L. Crassus C. Carbonem, uno et vicensimo Caesar Dolabellam, altero et vicensimo Asinius Pollio C. Catonem, non multum aetate antecedens Calvus Vatinium iis orationibus insecuti sunt quas hodie quoque [1] cum admiratione legimus.

35 At nunc adulescentuli nostri deducuntur in scholas

[1] See note 52, p. 142.

failed to please. In this way they could command, firstly, a teacher, and him the best and choicest of his kind, one who could show forth the true features of eloquence, and not a weak imitation; secondly, opponents and antagonists, who fought with swords, not with wooden foils; and thirdly, an audience always numerous and always different, composed of friendly and unfriendly critics, who would not let any points escape them, whether good or bad. For the oratorical renown that is great and lasting is built up, as you know, quite as much among the opposition benches as on those of one's own side; indeed, its growth in that quarter is sturdier, and takes root more firmly. Yes, under such instructors the young man who is the subject of this discourse, the pupil of real orators, the listener in the forum, the close attendant on the law courts, trained to his work in the school of other people's efforts, who got to know his law by hearing it cited every day, who became familiar with the faces on the bench, who made the practice of public meetings a subject of constant contemplation, and who had many opportunities of studying the vagaries of the popular taste,—such a youth, whether he undertook to appear as prosecutor or for the defence, was competent right away to deal with any kind of case, alone and unaided. Lucius Crassus was only eighteen when he impeached Gaius Carbo, Caesar twenty when he undertook the prosecution of Dolabella, Asinius Pollio twenty-one when he attacked Gaius Cato, and Calvus not much older when he prosecuted Vatinius. The speeches they delivered on those occasions are read to this day with admiration.

"But nowadays our boys are escorted to the

istorum qui rhetores vocantur, quos paulo ante Ciceronis tempora exstitisse nec placuisse maioribus nostris ex eo manifestum est quod a Crasso et Domitio censoribus cludere, ut ait Cicero, 'ludum impudentiae' iussi sunt. Sed ut dicere institueram, deducuntur in scholas *de* quibus [1] non facile dixerim utrumne locus ipse an condiscipuli an genus studiorum plus mali ingeniis adferant. Nam in loco nihil reverentiae est, *scilicet* in quem [2] nemo nisi aeque imperitus intrat; in condiscipulis nihil profectus, cum pueri inter pueros et adulescentuli inter adulescentulos pari securitate et dicant et audiantur; ipsae vero exercitationes magna ex parte contrariae. Nempe enim duo genera materiarum apud rhetoras tractantur, suasoriae et controversiae. Ex his suasoriae quidem etsi, tamquam plane leviores et minus prudentiae exigentes, pueris delegantur, controversiae robustioribus adsignantur,—quales, per fidem, et quam incredibiliter compositae! Sequitur autem ut materiae abhorrenti a veritate declamatio quoque adhibeatur. Sic fit ut tyrannicidarum praemia aut vitiatarum electiones aut pestilentiae remedia aut incesta matrum aut quidquid in schola

[1] See note 54, p. 142.
[2] See note 55, p. 142.

schools of the so-called 'professors of rhetoric,'—persons who came on the scene just before the time of Cicero but failed to find favour with our forefathers, as is obvious from the fact that the censors Crassus and Domitius ordered them to shut down what Cicero calls their 'school of shamelessness.'[1] They are escorted, as I was saying, to these schools, of which it would be hard to say what is most prejudicial to their intellectual growth, the place itself, or their fellow-scholars, or the studies they pursue. The place has nothing about it that commands respect,—no one enters it who is not as ignorant as the rest; there is no profit in the society of the scholars, since they are all either boys or young men who are equally devoid of any feeling of responsibility whether they take the floor or provide an audience; and the exercises in which they engage largely defeat their own objects. You are of course aware that there are two kinds of subject-matter handled by these professors, the deliberative and the disputatious. Now while, as regards the former, it is entrusted to mere boys, as being obviously of less importance and not making such demands on the judgment, the more mature scholars are asked to deal with the latter,—but, good heavens! what poor quality is shown in their themes, and how unnaturally they are made up! Then in addition to the subject-matter that is so remote from real life, there is the bombastic style in which it is presented. And so it comes that themes like these: 'the reward of the king-killer,' or 'the outraged maid's alternatives,' or 'a remedy for the plague,' or 'the incestuous mother,' and all the other topics that are treated every day in the school, but seldom

[1] See note 53, p. 142.

cotidie agitur, in foro vel raro vel numquam, ingentibus verbis prosequantur: cum ad veros iudices ventum . . .[1]

36 . . . rem cogitare; nihil humile, nihil abiectum eloqui poterat. Magna eloquentia, sicut flamma, materia alitur et motibus excitatur et urendo clarescit.

Eadem ratio in nostra quoque civitate antiquorum eloquentiam provexit. Nam etsi horum quoque temporum oratores ea consecuti sunt quae composita et quieta et beata re publica tribui fas erat, tamen illa perturbatione ac licentia plura sibi adsequi videbantur, cum mixtis omnibus et moderatore uno carentibus tantum quisque orator saperet quantum erranti populo persuadere poterat. Hinc leges adsiduae et populare nomen, hinc contiones magistratuum paene pernoctantium in rostris, hinc accusationes potentium reorum et adsignatae etiam domibus inimicitiae, hinc procerum factiones et adsidua senatus adversus plebem certamina. Quae singula etsi distrahebant rem publicam, exercebant tamen illorum temporum eloquentiam et magnis cumulare praemiis videbantur, quia quanto quisque plus dicendo poterat, tanto facilius honores adsequebatur, tanto magis in ipsis honoribus collegas suos anteibat, tanto plus apud principes gratiae, plus auctoritatis

[1] See note 56, p. 142.

or never in actual practice, are set forth in magniloquent phraseology; but when the speaker comes before a real tribunal . . .

". . . to have regard to the subject in hand. With him it was an impossibility to give forth any utterance that was trivial or commonplace. Great oratory is like a flame: it needs fuel to feed it, movement to fan it, and it brightens as it burns.

"At Rome too the eloquence of our forefathers owed its development to the same conditions. For although the orators of to-day have also succeeded in obtaining all the influence that it would be proper to allow them under settled, peaceable, and prosperous political conditions, yet their predecessors in those days of unrest and unrestraint thought they could accomplish more when, in the general ferment and without the strong hand of a single ruler, a speaker's political wisdom was measured by his power of carrying conviction to the unstable populace. This was the source of the constant succession of measures put forward by champions of the people's rights, of the harangues of state officials who almost spent the night on the hustings, of the impeachments of powerful criminals and hereditary feuds between whole families, of schisms among the aristocracy and never-ending struggles between the senate and the commons. All this tore the commonwealth in pieces, but it provided a sphere for the oratory of those days and heaped on it what one saw were vast rewards. The more influence a man could wield by his powers of speech, the more readily did he attain to high office, the further did he, when in office, outstrip his colleagues in the race for precedence, the more did he gain favour with the great, authority with the

apud patres, plus notitiae ac nominis apud plebem parabat. Hi clientelis etiam exterarum nationum redundabant, hos ituri in provincias magistratus reverebantur, hos reversi colebant, hos et praeturae et consulatus vocare ultro videbantur, hi ne privati quidem sine potestate erant, cum et populum et senatum consilio et auctoritate regerent. Quin immo sibi persuaserant neminem sine eloquentia aut adsequi posse in civitate aut tueri conspicuum et eminentem locum: nec mirum, cum etiam inviti ad populum producerentur, cum parum esset in senatu breviter censere, nisi qui ingenio et eloquentia sententiam suam tueretur, cum in aliquam invidiam aut crimen vocati sua voce respondendum haberent, cum testimonia quoque in *iudiciis* publicis non absentes nec per tabellam dare, sed coram et praesentes dicere cogerentur. Ita ad summa eloquentiae praemia magna etiam necessitas accedebat; et quomodo disertum haberi pulchrum et gloriosum, sic contra mutum et elinguem videri deforme habebatur.

37 Ergo non minus rubore quam praemiis stimulabantur ne clientulorum loco potius quam patronorum numerarentur, ne traditae a maioribus necessitudines

senate, and name and fame with the common people. These were the men who had whole nations of foreigners under their protection, several at a time; the men to whom state officials presented their humble duty on the eve of their departure to take up the government of a province, and to whom they paid their respects on their return; the men who, without any effort on their own part, seemed to have praetorships and consulates at their beck and call; the men who even when out of office were in power, seeing that by their advice and authority they could bend both the senate and the people to their will. With them moreover it was a conviction that without eloquence it was impossible for any one either to attain to a position of distinction and prominence in the community, or to maintain it: and no wonder they cherished this conviction, when they were called on to appear in public even when they would rather not, when it was not enough to move a brief resolution in the senate, unless one made good one's opinion in an able speech, when persons who had in some way or other incurred odium, or else were definitely charged with some offence, had to put in an appearance in person, when moreover evidence in criminal trials had to be given not indirectly or by affidavit, but personally and by word of mouth. So it was that eloquence not only led to great rewards, but was also a sheer necessity; and just as it was considered great and glorious to have the reputation of being a good speaker, so, on the other hand, it was accounted discreditable to be inarticulate and incapable of utterance.

"Thus it was a sense of shame quite as much as material reward that gave them an incentive. They wanted to be ranked with patrons rather than poor dependents;

ad alios transirent, ne tamquam inertes et non suffecturi honoribus aut non impetrarent aut impetratos male tuerentur. Nescio an venerint in manus vestras haec vetera quae et in antiquariorum bibliothecis adhuc manent et cum maxime a Muciano contrahuntur, ac iam undecim, ut opinor, Actorum libris et tribus Epistularum composita et edita sunt. Ex his intellegi potest Cn. Pompeium et M. Crassum non viribus modo et armis, sed ingenio quoque et oratione valuisse; Lentulos et Metellos et Lucullos et Curiones et ceteram procerum manum multum in his studiis operae curaeque posuisse, nec quemquam illis temporibus magnam potentiam sine aliqua eloquentia consecutum.

His accedebat splendor reorum et magnitudo causarum, quae et ipsa plurimum eloquentiae praestant. Nam multum interest utrumne de furto aut formula et interdicto dicendum habeas, an de ambitu comitiorum, de expilatis sociis et civibus trucidatis. Quae mala sicut non accidere melius est, isque optimus civitatis status habendus in quo nihil tale patimur, ita cum acciderent ingentem eloquentiae materiam subministrabant. Crescit enim cum amplitudine rerum vis ingenii, nec quisquam claram et inlustrem orationem

they could not bear to let inherited connections pass into the hands of strangers; and they had to avoid the reputation for apathy and incompetence that would either keep them from obtaining office or make their official careers a failure. I wonder if you have seen the ancient records which are still extant in the libraries of collectors, and which are even now being compiled by Mucianus: they have already been arranged and edited in eleven volumes, I think, of Proceedings and five of Letters. They make it clear that Gnaeus Pompeius and Marcus Crassus rose to power not only as warriors and men of might, but also by their talent for oratory; that the Lentuli and the Metelli and the Luculli and the Curios and all the great company of our nobles devoted great care and attention to these pursuits; and that in their day no one attained to great influence without some gift of eloquence.

"There was a further advantage in the high rank of the persons who were brought to trial and the importance of the interests involved, factors which are also in a great degree conducive to eloquence. For it makes a good deal of difference whether you are briefed to speak about a case of theft, or a rule of procedure, and the provisional order of a magistrate, or about electioneering practices, the robbery of a province, and the murder of fellow-citizens. It is better, of course, that such horrors should not occur at all, and we must regard that as the most enviable political condition in which we are not liable to anything of the kind. Yet when these things did happen, they furnished the orators of the day with ample material. Hand in hand with the importance of the theme goes the growing ability to cope with it, and it is a sheer impossibility for any one to produce a

efficere potest nisi qui causam parem invenit. Non, opinor, Demosthenem orationes inlustrant quas adversus tutores suos composuit, nec Ciceronem magnum oratorem P. Quintius defensus aut Licinius Archias faciunt: Catilina et Milo et Verres et Antonius hanc illi famam circumdederunt, non quia tanti fuit[1] rei publicae malos ferre cives ut uberem ad dicendum materiam oratores haberent, sed, ut subinde admoneo, quaestionis meminerimus sciamusque nos de ea re loqui quae facilius turbidis et inquietis temporibus exsistit. Quis ignorat utilius ac melius esse frui pace quam bello vexari? plures tamen bonos proeliatores bella quam pax ferunt. Similis eloquentiae condicio. Nam quo saepius steterit tamquam in acie quoque plures et intulerit ictus et exceperit quoque maiores adversarios acrioresque pugnas sibi ipsa desumpserit, tanto altior et excelsior et illis nobilitata discriminibus in ore hominum agit, quorum ea natura est ut secura velint *periculosa mirentur*[2].

38 Transeo ad formam et consuetudinem veterum iudiciorum. Quae etsi nunc aptior exstiterit[3], eloquentiam tamen illud forum magis exercebat, in quo nemo intra paucissimas perorare horas cogebatur et liberae comperendinationes erant et modum *in*

[1] See note 57, p. 144.
[2] See note 58, p. 144.
[3] See note 59, p. 144.

great and glorious oration unless he has found a theme to correspond. It is not, I take it, the speeches which he composed in the action he brought against his guardians that give Demosthenes his name and fame, nor does Cicero rest his claims to greatness as an orator on his defence of Publius Quintius or Licinius Archias. No, it was a Catiline, a Milo, a Verres, an Antonius that made his reputation for him. I do not mean that it was worth the country's while to produce bad citizens, just in order that our orators might have an ample supply of material; but let us bear in mind the point at issue, as I keep urging you to do, realising that our discourse is dealing with an art which comes to the front more readily in times of trouble and unrest. We all know that the blessings of peace bring more profit and greater happiness than the horrors of war; yet war produces a larger number of good fighters than peace. It is the same with eloquence. The oftener it takes its stand in the lists, the more numerous the strokes it gives and receives, the more powerful the opponents and the more keenly contested the issues it deliberately selects, in like proportion does eloquence carry its head higher and more erect before the eyes of men, deriving ever greater lustre from the very hazards it encounters. For men are naturally prone, while courting security for themselves, to admire whatever has an element of risk.

"I pass on to the organisation and procedure of the old law-courts. It may nowadays have become more practical, but all the same the forum as it then was provided a better training-ground for oratory. There was no obligation on any speaker to complete his pleading within an hour or two at the most;

dicendo sibi quisque sumebat et numerus neque dierum neque patronorum finiebatur. Primus haec tertio consulatu Cn. Pompeius adstrinxit, imposuitque veluti frenos eloquentiae, ita tamen ut omnia in foro, omnia legibus, omnia apud praetores gererentur: apud quos quanto maiora negotia olim exerceri solita sint, quod maius argumentum est quam quod causae centumvirales, quae nunc primum obtinent locum, adeo splendore aliorum iudiciorum obruebantur ut neque Ciceronis neque Caesaris neque Bruti neque Caelii neque Calvi, non denique ullius magni oratoris liber apud centumviros dictus legatur, exceptis orationibus Asinii quae pro heredibus Vrbiniae inscribuntur, ab ipso tamen Pollione mediis divi Augusti temporibus habitae, postquam longa temporum quies et continuum populi otium et adsidua senatus tranquillitas et maxima principis disciplina [1] ipsam quoque eloquentiam sicut omnia alia pacaverat [2].

39 Parvum et ridiculum fortasse videbitur quod dicturus sum; dicam tamen, vel ideo ut rideatur. Quantum humilitatis putamus eloquentiae attulisse paenulas istas quibus adstricti et velut inclusi cum iudicibus fabulamur? Quantum virium detraxisse orationi auditoria et tabularia credimus, in quibus

[1] See note 60, p. 144.
[2] See note 61, p. 145.

adjournments were always in order; as regards a time-limit, each man was a law to himself; and no attempt was made to define either how many days the case was to take or how many counsel were to be employed in it. It was Gnaeus Pompeius who, in his third consulship, first introduced limitations in regard to these matters. He may be said to have curbed eloquence with bit and bridle, without however cancelling the provision that everything should be done in court, according to law, and before a praetor. The best proof you can have of the greater importance of the cases dealt with by the praetors in former days is the fact that actions before the centumviral court, which are now considered to outrank all others, used to be so much overshadowed by the prestige of other tribunals that there is not a single speech, delivered before that court, that is read to-day, either by Cicero, or by Caesar, or by Brutus, or by Caelius, or by Calvus, or in fact by any orator of rank. The only exceptions are the speeches of Asinius Pollio entitled 'For Urbinia's Heirs,' and yet these are just the ones which he delivered well on in the middle of the reign of Augustus, when in consequence of the long period of peace, and the unbroken spell of inactivity on the part of the commons and of peaceableness on the part of the senate, by reason also of the working of the great imperial system, a hush[illegible]d fallen upon eloquence, as indeed it had upo[illegible] world at large.

"My next point will perhaps [illegible]e you as t[illegible]al and ridiculous, but I shall make it, even if only to excite your ridicule. Take those gowns into which we squeeze ourselves when we chat with the court, a costume that shackles movement, do we ever reflect how largely responsible they are for the orator's loss

iam fere plurimae causae explicantur? Nam quo modo nobiles equos cursus et spatia probant, sic est aliquis oratorum campus, per quem nisi liberi et soluti ferantur debilitatur ac frangitur eloquentia. Ipsam quin immo curam et diligentis stili anxietatem contrariam experimur, quia saepe interrogat iudex quando incipias, et ex interrogatione eius incipiendum est: frequenter [probationibus et testibus [1]] silentium patronis indicit. Vnus inter haec dicenti aut alter adsistit, et res velut in solitudine agitur. Oratori autem clamore plausuque opus est, et velut quodam theatro; qualia cotidie antiquis oratoribus contingebant, cum tot pariter ac tam nobiles forum coartarent, cum clientelae quoque ac tribus et municipiorum etiam legationes ac pars Italiae periclitantibus adsisteret, cum in plerisque iudiciis crederet populus Romanus sua interesse quid iudicaretur. Satis constat C. Cornelium et M. Scaurum et T. Milonem et L. Bestiam et P. Vatinium concursu totius civitatis et

[1] See note 62, p. 145.

of dignity? Or think of the recitation-halls and record-offices in which pretty well most cases are nowadays despatched, have they not also greatly contributed to the emasculation of eloquence? Why, just as with blood-horses it takes a roomy track to show their mettle, so orators need a spacious field in which to expatiate without let or hindrance, if their eloquence is not to lose all its strength and pith. Moreover, painstaking preparation and the anxious effort for stylistic finish are found after all to do more harm than good. The judge often asks when you are going to come to the point, and you are bound to make a start as soon as he puts the question. Just as often he tells counsel to stop (so that evidence may be led and witnesses examined). All the time the speaker has only two or three for an audience, and the hearing goes forward in what is a scene of desolation. But your public speaker can't get along without 'hear, hear,' and the clapping of hands. He must have what I may call his stage. This the orators of former times could command day after day, when the forum was packed by an audience at the same time numerous and distinguished, when persons who had to face the hazard of a public trial could depend on being supported by shoals of clients and fellow-tribesmen, and by deputations also from the country towns; half Italy, in fact, was there to back them. These were the days when the people of Rome felt that in quite a number of cases they had a personal stake in the verdict. We know on good authority that both the impeachment and the defence of a Cornelius, a Scaurus, a Milo, a Bestia, a Vatinius brought the whole community together *en masse:* so that it would

accusatos et defensos, ut frigidissimos quoque oratores ipsa certantis populi studia excitare et incendere potuerint. Itaque hercule eius modi libri extant ut ipsi quoque qui egerunt non aliis magis orationibus censeantur.

40 Iam vero contiones adsiduae et datum ius potentissimum quemque vexandi atque ipsa inimicitiarum gloria, cum se plurimi disertorum ne a Publico quidem Scipione aut *L.* Sulla aut Cn. Pompeio abstinerent, et ad incessendos principes viros, ut est natura invidiae, populi quoque *ut* histriones auribus uterentur, quantum ardorem ingeniis, quas oratoribus faces admovebant ![1]

Non de otiosa et quieta re loquimur et quae probitate et modestia gaudeat, sed est magna illa et notabilis eloquentia alumna licentiae, quam stulti libertatem vocabant, comes seditionum, effrenati populi incitamentum, sine obsequio, sine *reverentia*[2], contumax, temeraria, adrogans, quae in bene constitutis civitatibus non oritur. Quem enim oratorem Lacedaemonium, quem Cretensem accepimus? quarum civitatum severissima disciplina et severissimae leges traduntur. Ne Macedonum quidem ac Persarum aut ullius gentis quae certo imperio contenta fuerit

[1] See note 63, p. 145.
[2] See note 64, p. 145.

have been impossible for even the most frigid of speakers not to be enkindled and set on fire by the mere clash of partisan enthusiasm. That is why the quality of the published orations that have come down to us is so high that it is by these more than by any others that the speakers who appeared on either side actually take rank.

"Think again of the incessant public meetings, of the privilege so freely accorded of inveighing against persons of position and influence,—yes, and of the glory you gained by being at daggers drawn with them, in the days when so many clever speakers could not let even a Scipio alone, or a Sulla, or a Pompeius, and when, taking a leaf out of the book of stage-players, they made public meetings also the opportunity of launching characteristically spiteful tirades against the leading men of the state: how all this must have inflamed the able debater and added fuel to the fire of his eloquence!

"The art which is the subject of our discourse is not a quiet and peaceable art, or one that finds satisfaction in moral worth and good behaviour: no, really great and famous oratory is a foster-child of licence, which foolish men called liberty, an associate of sedition, a goad for the unbridled populace. It owes no allegiance to any. Devoid of reverence, it is insulting, off-hand, and overbearing. It is a plant that does not grow under a well-regulated constitution. Does history contain a single instance of any orator at Sparta, or at Crete, two states whose political system and legislation were more stringent than any other on record? It is equally true to say that in Macedonia and in Persia eloquence was unknown,

eloquentiam novimus. Rhodii quidam, plurimi Athenienses oratores exstiterunt, apud quos omnia populus, omnia imperiti, omnia, ut sic dixerim, omnes poterant. Nostra quoque civitas, donec erravit, donec se partibus et dissensionibus et discordiis confecit, donec nulla fuit in foro pax, nulla in senatu concordia, nulla in iudiciis moderatio, nulla superiorum reverentia, nullus magistratuum modus, tulit sine dubio valentiorem eloquentiam, sicut indomitus ager habet quasdam herbas laetiores: sed nec tanti rei publicae Gracchorum eloquentia fuit ut pateretur et leges, nec bene famam eloquentiae Cicero tali exitu pensavit.

41 Sic quoque quod superest antiqui oratoribus fori non emendatae nec usque ad votum compositae civitatis argumentum est. Quis enim nos advocat nisi aut nocens aut miser? Quod municipium in clientelam nostram venit, nisi quod aut vicinus populus aut domestica discordia agitat? Quam provinciam tuemur nisi spoliatam vexatamque? Atqui melius fuisset non queri quam vindicari. Quod si inveniretur aliqua civitas in qua nemo peccaret, supervacuus esset inter innocentes orator sicut inter sanos medicus. Quo modo, *inquam,*[1] minimum usus minimumque profectus ars medentis habet in iis gentibus quae

[1] See note 65, p. 145.

as indeed it was in all states that were content to live under a settled government. Rhodes has had some orators; Athens a great many: in both communities all power was in the hands of the populace—that is to say, the untutored democracy. The crowd ruled the roost. Likewise at Rome, so long as the constitution was unsettled, so long as the country kept wearing itself out with factions and dissensions and disagreements, so long as there was no peace in the forum, no harmony in the senate, no restraint in the courts of law, no respect for authority, no sense of propriety on the part of the officers of state, the growth of eloquence was doubtless sturdier, just as untilled soil produces certain vegetation in greater luxuriance. But the benefit derived from the eloquence of the Gracchi did not make up for what the country suffered from their laws, and too dearly did Cicero pay by the death he died for his renown in oratory.

"In the same way what little our orators have left them of the old forensic activities goes to show that our civil condition is still far from being ideally perfect. Does anyone ever call us lawyers to his aid unless he is either a criminal or in distress? Does any country town ever ask for our protection except under pressure either from an aggressive neighbour or from internal strife? Are we ever retained for a province except where robbery and oppression have been at work? Yet surely it were better to have no grievances than to need to seek redress. If a community could be found in which nobody ever did anything wrong, orators would be just as superfluous among saints as are doctors among those that need no physician. Just as the healing art, I repeat, is very little in demand and makes very little progress

firmissima valetudine ac saluberrimis corporibus utuntur, sic minor oratorum honor obscuriorque gloria est inter bonos mores et in obsequium regentis paratos. Quid enim opus est longis in senatu sententiis, cum optimi cito consentiant? Quid multis apud populum contionibus, cum de re publica non imperiti et multi deliberent, sed sapientissimus et unus? Quid voluntariis accusationibus, cum tam raro et tam parce peccetur? Quid invidiosis et excedentibus modum defensionibus, [illegible] clementia cognoscentis obviam periclitantibus [illegible] dite, optimi et in quantum opus est disertissimi [illegible] aut vos prioribus saeculis aut illi quos miramur his nati essent, ac deus aliquis vitas vestras ac tempora[1] repente mutasset, nec vobis summa illa laus et gloria in eloquentia neque illis modus et temperamentum defuisset: nunc, quoniam nemo eodem tempore adsequi potest magnam famam et magnam quietem, bono saeculi sui quisque citra obtrectationem alterius utatur."

42 Finierat Maternus, cum Messalla: "Erant quibus contra dicerem, erant de quibus plura dici vellem, nisi iam dies esset exactus."

"Fiet" inquit Maternus "postea arbitratu tuo, et

[1] See note 66, p. 146.

in countries where people enjoy good health and strong constitutions, so oratory has less prestige and smaller consideration where people are well behaved and ready to obey their rulers. What is the use of long arguments in the senate, when good citizens agree so quickly? What is the use of one harangue after another on public platforms, when it is not the ignorant multitude that decides a political issue, but a monarch who is the incarnation of wisdom? What is the use of taking a prosecution on one's own shoulders when misdeeds are so few and so trivial, or of making oneself unpopular by a defence of inordinate length, when the defendant can count on a gracious judge meeting him half-way? Believe me, my friends, you who have all the eloquence that the times require: if you had lived in bygone days, or if the orators who rouse our admiration had lived to-day,—if some deity, I say, had suddenly made you change places in your lives and epochs, you would have attained to their brilliant reputation for eloquence just as surely as they would show your restraint and self-control. As things are, since it is impossible for anybody to enjoy at one and the same time great renown and great repose, let every one make the most of the blessings his own times afford without disparaging any other age."

When Maternus had finished speaking, "There were some points," Messalla said, "to which I should like to take exception, and others which, I think, might call for fuller treatment. But the hour grows late."

"Some other time," Maternus replied, "we shall take the matter up again, whenever you please. We can then discuss again anything in my argument

si qua tibi obscura in hoc meo sermone visa sunt, de iis rursus conferemus."

Ac simul adsurgens et Aprum complexus "Ego" inquit "te poetis, Messalla *omnibus* antiquariis[1] criminabimur."

"At ego vos rhetoribus et scholasticis" inquit.

Cum adrisissent, discessimus.

[1] See note 67, p. 146.

that may have struck you as needing further elucidation."

With that he rose from his seat and put his arms round Aper, saying, "We shall both denounce you,—I to the poets and Messalla to every lover of antiquity."

"And I," said Aper, "shall denounce both of you to the teachers of rhetoric and the professors."

They beamed on each other, and we went our ways.

CRITICAL NOTES

1. *Leges tu quid.* I follow here the reading of most manuscripts: *leges, inquit, quid* Halm, *intelleges tu quid* Greef.

2. *adgregare.* This is the emendatio . . Muretus: most codd. have *aggregares* (——*em* EV²), accepting which editors generally insert *ut* before *Domitium et Catonem*, so as to make the *ut . . . aggregares* clause explanatory of *novum negotium*. But an appositive infinitival clause is equally admissible: cp. Cic. Brut. § 74 *ad id quod instituisti, oratorum genera distinguere artibus . . . adcommodatam.* In my edition of the *Dialogus* (Oxford, 1893), I suggested *adgregandi.*

3. *excusent.* This verb may be used absolutely, and it is unnecessary to insert *se,* though, on the other hand, the pronoun may easily have fallen out between the last letter of *cognitionibus* and the first of *excusent.* Cp. *ferat,* 10, 24.

4. *Et ego enim:* "I too, on my side." Editors, except C. John, follow Pithoeus in suppressing *Et,* though it occurs in all manuscripts.

5. *invenimus.* This is perhaps the simplest emendation of the MS. reading *inveniri.* I had previously proposed *inveniri contigit,* on the strength of the well-

known use of a passive infinitive with impersonal verbs and phrases: Cic. Mil. § 8 *si sceleratos cives interfici nefas esset.* In any case, those critics and editors seem to be wrong who insist on inserting *non* before the verb, on the somewhat pedantic plea that Secundus does not formally act us a judge in what follows. For one thing the entrance of Messalla in chapter 14 somewhat alters the development. And the whole tone of what goes before the passage under consideration is against making Aper definitely rule Secundus out.

6. *apud hos.* My reading (for the MS. *apud eos*) seems as likelv to be right as *apud vos* (Lipsius, and most edd.) or *apud nos* (C. John). The objection urged against it that Tacitus himself is in the background, the only other auditor at the moment being Secundus, is again somewhat pedantic. Tacitus takes no part, it is true, in the discussion: but he has already counted himself in, so to speak, with the words *Igitur ut intravimus* at the beginning of chapter 3, just as he does again with *discessimus* at the end of the whole talk. And, in any case, it would not be unnatural here for Aper to take notice of the presence of a youthful aspirant to rhetorical fame.

7. *vel ad voluptatem iucundius.* These words (with *dulcius* in place of *iucundius,* which comes from Nipperdey) were originally supplied by Ritter as indispensable to the context, though omitted accidentally in the manuscripts. For *iucundius* others read *honestius.* Cp. 31, 9.

8. *quid est tutius.* A recent emendation is that of H. Röhl—*quid est potius.*

9. *qui accinctus.* Following C. John, I now return to the reading of the manuscripts, instead of substituting *qua* for *qui*, with Ursinus and editors generally. *Accinctus* is used absolutely: "ready for fighting."

10. *quamquam grata quae diu serantur atque elaborentur:* "though you take pleasure in what needs a long time to sow and cultivate," or "to work up from the seedling stage." I retain the reading adopted in my edition. For the sentiment, compare the motto of McGill University, taken over (perhaps without strict regard to the context) from Lucretius ii., 1160,—*Grandescunt aucta labore.* Andresen thinks the subjunctive indefensible, but surely it is not out of place when used of an indefinite *class* or *kind* of growth, and occurring inside a concessive clause.

C. John undertakes to defend the MS. reading *alia,* for which *grata quae* is substituted in the text. He thinks that *alia* may be used by anticipation, as it were, and with reference to what follows in the sentence, so that it = "quae non sua sponte nascuntur."

11. *apud centumviros:* "before the centumviral court," or the Board of a Hundred. This court, which dated from early times, was specially charged with civil cases, such as those arising out of inheritance, wardship, and the like. It became more important under the Empire in proportion as other courts declined. See ch. 38.

12. *si non ultro oritur:* "unless it comes unbidden." For *ultro* the manuscripts give *in alio,* which has been defended as meaning "if it take not its rise in another source." An easy emendation would, of course, be *in animo,*—the abbreviated form of *animo* (*aīo*) being

very near to that for *alio* : and this I adopted in my edition. *Ultro* was originally proposed by a reviewer in the *Athenæum* (February 3, 1894), and has recently been repeated by H. Wagenvoort jr. in *Mnemosyne* (40.2.1912). The suggestion is that the *in* arose by dittography from the final *n* of *non*, and that then *ultro* became *alio*.

13. *Quinam inlustriores* is Orelli's emendation of the MS. reading *qui non illustres*. Others propose *Quid? non illustres*, or *Qui tam illustres*, or *Qui illustriores?*

14. *vacuos* occurs only in the Leyden codex, in place of *iuvenes*, which is omitted in most texts.

15. *minus notos*. Here *notos* was supplied by Ursinus: the codd. have *minus*, which some editors convert into *minores*.

16. *ipsi* Lipsius : *ipsis* codd.

17. *imagines ac tituli* might be rendered 'inscribed medallions': the former are the bronze likenesses of the Emperor and other persons of distinction with which it was the custom to decorate the atrium, and the *tituli* are the eulogistic inscriptions placed underneath the medallions. This custom displaced the old 'imagines,' busts of ancestors with wax masks, previously exhibited by noble families, and often borne along in the funeral train of a deceased member of the house. The 'new men' had no ancestors to commemorate. Cp. ch. 11, *ad fin*.

18. *praecerpta* Schele : *praecepta* or *percepta*, codd.

19. *genium* Lipsius : *ingenium* codd.

20. *rarissimarum:* "few and far between as they are." There is obviously a difficulty here. The context would seem to call for the meaning "excellentissimarum," and it has been proposed to read "*clarissimarum*" instead of "*rarissimarum.*" But that is more than Aper would have been inclined to say of readings generally. Novak rejects *rarissimarum,* as having in all probability arisen out of a gloss on *quando.* Some one wrote, in answer to this question, *rarissime,*—probably in the margin: and this word was afterwards transferred to the text in the shape of an adjective. So we have at 41, 3, *idem quod nemo* as a gloss on *quis enim nos advocat?* John suggests that this may also be the explanation of the passage already dealt with at 7, 14, where the MSS. have *Qui non illustres: non* being a gloss on *qui* to show what the answer ought to be.

21. *ceteris aliarum artium studiis, i.e.* the pursuit of non-literary accomplishments. This somewhat pleonastic phrase does not call for any emendation (such as *altiorum,* Andresen): cp. Germ. 4, *nullis aliis aliarum nationum conubiis.*

22. *ferat.* Here, as with *excusent* 5, 3, the verb is used absolutely, so that it is unnecessary to follow Acidalius in inserting *te* before it, or (with Halm) to read *natura te tua.*

23. *hanc* was suggested by Haase for the MS. *aut* (*etiam,* Halm, *et* John).

24. *in quibus si quando.* I follow E (the Ottobonianus) in omitting altogether the unintelligible *expressis* after *quibus,*—probably the survival of some marginal gloss, now irrecoverable.

25. *cum quidem principe Nerone.* This is the reading which I now venture to propose, and adopt in the text. The manuscripts have *cum quidem in nerone* (*m*). It is possible that the *in* may be a survival from *principe,* the contracted form of which (p^{i}n^{e}) may have become confused with the preceding *quidem.* For the phrase cp. *principe Augusto,* Ann. iii, 71 : *illo principe* i, 81.

If Lucian Müller's *imperante Nerone* is preferred, I would suggest the transposition *Nerone imperante :* the abbreviated form of *imperante* may have fallen out in front of *improbam.*

26. *Nam statum hucusque . . . melius innocentia tueor.* The key to this passage is *tueor,* which is aptly followed by *nec vereor.* But it necessitates the change of the MS. *cuiusque* to *hucusque.* Some editors adopt Pichena's alteration of *tueor* to *tuetur,* retaining *cuiusque,* and making *innocentia* nominative, but this gives an awkward transition to the *nec vereor* clause.—The only suggestion on which I would venture is *tueri reor* for *tueor : nam statum cuiusque ac securitatem melius innocentia* (sc. quemque) *tueri reor quam eloquentia, nec vereor,* etc.

27. *ii quibus praestant nihil,* "those whom they are unable to oblige." Here again I venture to insert a conjecture in the text. *Praestant nihil* seems better than *non praestant* (Lipsius), and gains, perhaps, by being in chiastic relation to *aliqui rogentur.* The manuscripts have neither *nihil* nor *non.* To take the text, however, as the manuscript tradition gives it, and to understand *ii quibus praestant* of successful suitors chafing under a sense of obligation incurred, seems somewhat far-fetched.

28. *omni* Walther : *cum* codd. : *tamen* John.

29. *famamque pallentem.* "fame that makes the cheek turn pale," *i.e.* with excitement. Some editors prefer the alternative MS. reading *palantem* = *vagam* : "the talk of the town that flits from mouth to mouth" : *fallentem* has also been suggested, with the idea that fame is a "cheat."

30. *nec incertus futuri testamentum pro pignore scribam.* It was recognised under the Empire that the best security a testator could take for the validity of his will was to include the emperor himself in his dispositions, and put him down for a handsome legacy.

31. *Quandoque enim fatalis et meus dies*
Veniet.

These words were recognised as a verse quotation first by Heller (Philol. li, 348 : 1892). Most codd. have *veniat :* if that reading be retained, the parenthensis disappears, and a comma must be inserted after *veniat,* to connect closely with *statuar.* *Quandoque* is indefinite : "some time or other."

The memory of a pleasant visit to the Deanery of Durham in the summer of last year (1912), only a few months before he died, may be my excuse for quoting here a modern counterpart of the sentiments of Maternus in the words used by the late Dean Kitchin at the close of his short and simple will: "Let no one make any memoir or biography of me; may my funeral be as simple as possible, without flowers or any show; a few wild flowers might be scattered over my grave. Let my burial be as little mournful as possible: the earthly end of a poor

sinner who dies thankful to the Almighty God for a long and very happy life."

32. *fratris tui.* Messalla's brother, or half-brother, was M. Aquilius Regulus, one of the most notorious of the *delatores*, or informers. Pliny frequently denounces him (" omnium bipedum nequissimus," the most blackguardly of bipeds!) both in that capacity and as a toady and legacy-hunter.

33. *parem* was added by Lipsius. The alternative is to delete *antiquis* as the survival of some gloss. Lipsius also suggested, in place of *antiquis,* atque id *eo credo audacius.*

34. *prae Catone* edd. : *pro Catone* codd. In place of the MS. reading the ed. Bipontina shows the conjecture *Porcio Catone,* and this reading has latterly been mentioned again with favour. But surely Tacitus would have written by preference *Marco Catone,* to balance *Appium Caecum?*

35. *Atticus* Ursinus: *antiquus* codd., and so John. The reference is to the distinction between the Attic and the Asiatic style of oratory. Cicero aimed at reconciling the two, but was considered " parum Atticus " and on the side of the Asiani, who were florid, turgid, and often excessively rhythmical. The Atticists on the other hand exaggerated " plainness " of style, with the result that it became bald and bloodless. See on Brutus and Calvus, ch. 17.

36. *equidem Cassium.* These words were supplied in the text of my Oxford edition to suggest the origin of an obvious lacuna. The eye of the copyist had run from the first *Cassium* to the second, and he

omitted the intervening words. They may be restored somewhat as follows: *Nam quatenus . . . solent, qui usque ad Cassium* [Severum volunt eloquentiam aequali et uno tenore processisse, libet quaerere quibus ille de causis novum dicendi genus inchoare ausus sit. Equidem Cassium] *quem reum faciunt* etc.

37. *atque ex ea* codd.: *et ex ea* most edd.

38. *Nec unum de populo,* etc. The reading given in italics is simply a suggestion to make some sense of a corrupt passage. The lacuna after *Atti* was noted by Halm.—In what follows I read *quique alii* < *omnes* > for the MS. *quique alios.*

39. *Sordes autem reliquae verborum*: "For the rest, his commonplace phraseology." *Reliquae* ("in the rest of his speeches") is Sorof's now generally accepted emendation for the *regulae* or *illae* of the codd.

40. *videmus enim quam* is Baehren's emendation of the MS. *viderimus inquam,* or *viderimus in quantum.* Halm follows Acidalius in reading *et videmus in quantum,* etc.

41. *eiusdem aetatis oratores* and *senior iam.* Now that additional evidence is forthcoming in further proof of the superiority of the tradition contained in what is known as the Y family of MSS. over that known as X, it will be seen that the order of words is rightly given in both these passages as against *oratores aetatis eiusdem* and *iam senior* (AB, followed by Halm). The same applies to *ingenuae artis* 30, 25, as against *artis ingenuae.*

42. † *si cominus fatetur.* No satisfactory explana-

tion of the manuscript reading has yet been given, and the passage is accordingly left unamended in the text. Readers may care to compare the following suggestions of various editors: *si comminans fatetur* (Nissen), *qua quasi convictus fatetur* (Halm), *qua quasi comminus nisus fatetur* (Müller), *quominus fatear* (John: cp. *commoda* in the MSS for *quomodo, 36, ad fin.*): *in qua nimirum fatetur*, or *ubi sicut omnes fatetur* (Peterson).

43. *tamen*, Gudeman: *autem*, codd.

44. *Aper.* The name was originally inserted before *agitare* by P. Voss: I follow John in putting it after the verb.

45. *frequens exclamatio.* The manuscripts have *frequens sicut his clam et exclamatio.* In place of the unintelligible *sicut his clam et* (which is omitted in my text), Rhenanus read *quibusdam*, Müller *si dis placet.* It looks as if another adjective was needed to balance *foeda et praepostera*: qy. *frequens et faceta?*

46. *At ego non verebor.* I follow John in restoring the old order of beginning the new chapter with these words. Modern editors commence with *Adpara te*, below.

47. *Adpara te*, "Get ready!" I adhere to my former reading as being nearest to the manuscript tradition (*Apparate, Aparte, Aperte*) and giving at the same time a good sense. Cp. *te para*, Cic. Fam. i. 7, and 9, 20: (qy. *At para te?*) The suggestion of *At paret* (with a reference to *adpareat* in the preceding line) might be supported (cp. pro Milone § 15), but would seem to require a change in what follows, *e.g.* *et* < *tu* > *potius exsolve.* Other emendations are *At parce* (Michaelis), and *Ah, parce* (Usener).

48. *rerum, hominum, temporum,* "things, persons, occasions." This is a safe translation, but the recurrence of "*rerum motus causasque*" below shows that *res* really = "natural phenomena," just as *homines* = "human personality," and *tempora* = "surrounding conditions." It is not quite the same division as *rerum . . . temporum . . . audientium,* at the end of the chapter. The reference in "*rerum motus causasque,*" on the following page, is obviously to that knowledge of natural science which underlies the great poem of Lucretius, *de Rerum Natura*—"philosophia naturalis," as distinct from "moralis" and "rationalis" (dialectics), Cic. de Fin. i. 4, 9, and Quint. xii. 2, 10. So in the passage now under consideration, Messalla—after stating that in his judgment literature (*in auctoribus cognoscendis*) and history (*in evolvenda antiquitate*) are slurred over and telescoped, as it were, in the race to get to the professor of rhetoric—adds that the same is true of a third division, viz. *notitia rerum, hominum, temporum.* Of these, *homines* are dealt with in 31, 5–19: *tempora* refers to the actual environment at any given time (cp. *ad utilitatem temporum,* below) "surrounding circumstances"; while *res* must have special reference, as already stated, to the exact sciences, such as physics and geometry, which—along with astronomy and natural science—were recognised since the time of the Sophists, especially Hippias, as forming a desirable and indeed indispensable part of an all-round education (*ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία*).

49. *de utilitate, in laudationibus.* These words were added to the text by Ursinus, as indispensable to the context: cp on 5, 19. See Cic. de Or. ii, § 104, and the note in my edition of the *Dialogus.*

50. ***ius huius civitatis***: "the law of the constitution." I retain in the text my conjecture *huius*, which may easily have fallen out after *ius*. The insertion of the pronoun may be held to give an added dignity to the phrase. On the other hand it must be admitted, in view of such references as Legg. i, 4, 14 and Top. 5, 28, that *ius civitatis* by itself in Cicero may = *ius civile*.

51. *Et Cicero,* etc. The reference is to Orator § 12, from which the word *officinis* was supplied in our text by Haase.

52. *hodie quoque.* This is the reading of AB as against the Y family of MSS. (*hodieque*). The latter form may be right (Germ. 3, 11). As C. John remarks, the way from *hodieque* to *hodie quoque* seems easier than the reverse order.

53. *ut ait Cicero.* The reference is to de Or. iii. § 94. Crassus was censor along with Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, in 92 B.C. For their edict *de coercendis rhetoribus Latinis,* see Suet. Rhet. § 1: Mommsen, Hist. iii. 443–4.

54. *de quibus* is my emendation. The MSS. give *quibus*, and all editors follow Schurzfleisch in reading *in quibus.*

55. *scilicet in quem* for *sed in quem* was suggested by Acidalius, and seems right, especially as it allows us to retain the indicative *intrat.* For the confusion of the compendia for *sed* and *scilicet* cp. Cic. Att. xiii, 33, § 4.

56. For the lacuna which occurs in the text, and is marked in the manuscripts, at the close of the preceding chapter, see Introd. p. 9 *sqq*. The precise

reading followed at the beginning of ch. 36 comes to be of considerable importance, as depending on our estimate of the comparative value of the two families of MSS. X and Y. The former gives *rem cogitant nihil humile vel abiectum* : the latter *rem cogitare nihil humile nihil abiectum.* Now the note in Decembrio's diary, discovered by Sabbadini in 1901,[1] runs *rem cogitare nihil abiectum, nihil humile,* and Decembrio is understood to have written down his references from the *codex Hersfeldensis* itself, the original of all the existing MSS.—the intention of his note being to mark the beginning and end of each of the contents of the manuscripts, and in the case of the Dialogue the beginning and end also of the lacuna. His note may be taken as confirming *cogitare* against *cogitant,* and also *nihil* against *vel.* But the odd thing is that he transposes the order of the words, as we have it in our MSS., and reads *nihil abiectum nihil humile* (cp. Cic. de Fin. v, 57). It is probable that this transposition was made inadvertently—as sometimes happens—as Decembrio turned from the codex in front of him to make the jotting in his diary. Gudeman, indeed, suggests that, owing to the anaphora, either *nihil humile* or *nihil abiectum* had been omitted, and was written in above the line in the archetype in such a way that a reader would be at a loss to know which of the two came first. The copyists of X and Y read it one way, and Decembrio another.

It should be remarked that, in addition to *cogitare* and *nihil,* Decembrio's note certifies *prosequantur* instead of the rival reading *persequantur.* Here the

[1] *See* Gudeman, "Textual Problems in the Dialogus of Tacitus," *Classical Philology,* October 1912, pp. 417–18 ; and my article in the *American Journal of Philology,* January–April 1913.

codd. are divided—*prosequuntur* ABEV[2], *persequuntur* (*persequntur*) HVCΔ, *persequimur* D.

57. *fuit.* This is another instance of the "return to the manuscripts." It is not necessary to accept Madvig's *fuerit,* though most editors have done so.

58. *periculosa mirentur*: "admire whatever has an element of risk." This is C. John's addition, which seems to yield a good sense. Halm adopted (from Baehrens and Vahlen) the reading *ut securi ipsi spectare aliena pericula velint.* Other efforts have been made to heal the breach: *ut ancipitia non secura velint,* Schopen; *ut secura nolint,* Rhenanus; *ut dubia laudent, secura nolint,* R. Agricola; *ut secura vellicent,* Peterson.

59. *exstiterit* (*exstitit?*) is as likely to be right here as anything else that has been made out of the MS. reading *est ita erit,* which must have resulted from the misinterpretation of compendia. Cp. 10, *ad fin.,* where the codd. have *ex his* for *exsistere.* In the text, *quae* = forma et consuetudo iudiciorum, not f. et c. *veterum* iudiciorum. To take *quae* as = *iudicia* would necessitate a change to *aptiora. Aptior* by itself is possible, but we should have expected *aptior causis agendis,* or something of the sort.

60. *maxima principis disciplina*: "the great imperial system." There is some discrepancy in the tradition here, the X family giving *maxima,* while Y has *maximi*: Halm and other editors adopt Haase's emendation *maxime.* I take *maxima* to be a complimentary epithet of the "disciplina" or "administrative faculty" of the emperor.—Editors ought here to have made a reference to the frequent instances of altars with the inscription "Disciplinae Augusti":

the same inscription occurs also on the reverse of several of the coins of Hadrian.

61. *omnia alia pacaverat.* This is the reading of the Y family (*alia omnia* E) against *omnia depacaverat* X. The supposition is that after the first *a* of *alia* (a²) had become merged in the preceding *omnia*, the reading *apacaverat* would result, and would be speedily changed into *depacaverat*. At the same time it must be admitted that the recurrence of *al* is always suspicious, suggesting as it does a various reading: cp. 6, *ad fin.*, and 7, 11. The point of the remark about eloquence having been "reduced to quietude" is that it was only when political passions had subsided that an orator of standing like Pollio could afford to interest himself in a private case.

62. I have bracketed *probationibus et testibus* in the belief that these words may be a gloss which has come in from the margin: thereafter *patronis* may easily have been changed to *patronus*, which is the reading of the codd. John, on the other hand, retains these words, and accepts Weissenborn's conjecture *importunus* for *patronus*, just as Halm incorporated in his text Haupt's *inpatiens*.

63. The question of whether a second lacuna must be assumed after *faces admovebant*, especially in the light of the new MS. evidence adduced by Gudeman, is discussed in the Introduction, p. 10: see also *Am. Journ. Phil.*, January–April 1913, p. 4 *sqq*.

64. *reverentia* is my conjecture for the MS. *servitute*. Others have suggested *veritate, virtute, severitate* ("moral earnestness").

65. *Quo modo, inquam.* As this sentence involves

a certain repetition, *inquam* may possibly be considered in place. The X family give *inde* and the Y *tamen*. Halm adopted *enim* from Heumann, while Michaelis reads *autem*.

66. *vitas vestras ac tempora*. This is Bekker's reading for the MS. *vitas ac vestra tempora*. Halm and John bracket *vestra*.

67. *omnibus antiquariis*. I base the reading *omnibus*, for *cum* of the MS. tradition, on 13, 17, where see note: cp. 2, 17, where, for *omni* $EV_3C\Delta$, *cum* is the reading of ABDH. Editors generally follow Weissenborn, who suggested *autem*.

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DIALOGUE ON ORATORY

ACADEMICI, XXX and XXXI. This school of philosophy derived its name from its connection with Plato's Academy (XXXII).

Accius, L., XX and XXI. Tragic poet, 170–84 B.C.

Achaia, XXX, = Greece.

Aeschines, XV and XXV. Attic orator, the rival of Demosthenes.

Afer, Domitius, XIII and XV. A great orator, the teacher and model of Quintilian. He was consul A.D. 39, and died A.D. 59.

Africanus, Julius, XIV and XV. Also a great orator, contemporary with Afer. He was a Gaul by birth.

Agamemnon, IX. Son of Atreus, king of Mycenae, and the subject of one of Maternus's tragedies.

Alexander the Great, XVI. Reigned 336–323 B.C.

Antonius, M., XXXVII. The triumvir, against whom Cicero delivered his 14 Philippics, so-called in imitation of Demosthenes.

Aper, M., II. *See* Introd. pp. 7–8.

Apollodorus of Pergamum, XIX. A professor of rhetoric, circ. 105–23 B.C. He lived mostly at Rome, and taught the youthful Octavianus.

Appius Claudius Caecus, XVIII. Consul 307 and 296, censor 312 B.C., scholar, statesman, jurist, poet and orator. He built the Via Appia.

Archias, A. Licinius, XXXVII. A poet, born at Antioch in Syria. He was defended by Cicero in 62 B.C., when impeached for wrongful registration as a Roman citizen.

Asinius = C. Asinius Pollio, XII and XXXIV. He wrote tragedies, and also a history of the civil war; 75 B.C. to A.D. 4. *See* Horace Odes, II. 1. As an orator he advocated, like Calvus, the 'Attic' style, as against the 'Asiatic' verbosity of Cicero.

Asitius, P., XXI. Impeached by Calvus for the murder of an Egyptian envoy, and successfully defended by Cicero.

Atia, XXVIII. Daughter of M. Atius Balbus and Caesar's sister Julia, wife of Octavius, and mother of the Emperor Augustus.

Attius, XXIII. An otherwise unknown orator, whom some identify with Cicero's contemporary Q. Arrius (Brut. § 242).

Augustus, XIII, XVII, XXVIII, XXXVIII. = C. Julius Caesar Octavianus Augustus. His reign extended from August 19, 43 B.C., when he entered on his first consulship, to his death Aug. 19, A.D. 14.

Aurelia, XXVIII. Mother of Julius Caesar. She was the daughter of M. Aurelius Cotta.

BASSUS, Aufidius, XXIII. He wrote a history of the Empire, down to Claudius; also a narrative of the War in Germany. He died under Nero.

Bassus, Saleius, V, IX, X. An epic poet of some repute, who received an honorarium from Vespasian.

Bestia = L. Calpurnius Bestia, XXXIX. One of the Catilinarian conspirators. In 56 B.C. he was unsuccessfully defended by Cicero on a charge of *ambitus*.

Britannia, XVII.

Brutus = M. Junius Brutus, XVII, XVIII, XXI, XXV, XXXVIII, one of Caesar's murderers. Cicero praises his eloquence highly, and he was even more distinguished in philosophy. He gave his name to a rhetorical treatise (XXX) composed in dialogue form by Cicero (46 B.C.).

CAECINA, Aulus, XX. Cicero defended him in an extant oration, when he was impeached (69 B.C.) in connection with a case of inheritance.

Caelius = M. Caelius Rufus, XVII, XVIII, XXI, XXV, XXVI, XXXVIII. He was an orator of distinction, and a correspondent of Cicero's who defended him in 56 B.C., when he was accused of sedition and attempted poisoning. He lost his life in the civil war, 48 B.C.

Caesar = C. Julius Caesar, XVII, XXI, XXV, XXVI, XXVIII, XXXIV, XXXVIII.

Calvus = C. Licinius Macer Calvus, XVII. XVIII, XXI, XXIII, XXV, XXVI, XXXIV, XXXVIII. A poet himself, he was the friend of Catullus, and like Catullus an opponent of Caesar.

Canutius, XXI. Probably P. Canutius, a pleader at the bar, who was a contemporary of Cicero.

Capua, VIII. A city in Campania.

Carbo = C. Papirius Carbo, XVIII, XXXIV. An orator of repute, who at first sided with Tib. Gracchus, but afterwards went over to the constitutional party. Consul 120 B.C.

Cassius Severus, XIX, XXVI. An able pleader, but notorious ... his scurrilous lampoons. He was banished under Augustus to Crete, and afterwards to Seriphos, where he died in A.D. 34.

Catilina = L. Sergius Catilina, XXXVII. The famous conspirator, against whom in 63 B.C. Cicero delivered his great orations.

Cato = C. Porcius Cato, XXXIV. Impeached by Asinius Pollio in in 54 B.C. for maladministration as tribune of the people two years previously. He was acquitted.

Cato = M. Porcius Cato, the elder, surnamed the Censor, XVIII. He was consul 195 B.C. Cicero considered him the earliest orator whose compositions deserved attention.

Cato = M. Porcius Cato, the younger, surnamed Uticensis, II, III, X. It was the story of his resistance to Julius Caesar, and his death after the battle of Thapsus (46 B.C.) that Curiatius Maternus, the leading character in the *Dialogus*, fashioned into a tragedy.

Cicero, XII, XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XXI, XXII, XXVI, XXX, XXXII, XXXVIII, XL.

Claudius, XVII. = Tib. Claudius Nero Germanicus, who reigned from A.D. 41 to 54.

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Cornelia, XXVIII. The mother of the Gracchi. She was the daughter of P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus maior, and the wife of Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, the elder.

Cornelius, C., XXXIX. Impeached for "maiestas" by P. Cominius Spoletinus in 65 B.C., and successfully defended by Cicero.

Crassus = L. Licinius Crassus, XVIII, XXVI, XXXIV, XXXV. He was the greatest orator before Cicero, who in the *De Oratore* makes him his mouthpiece. He was consul in 95 B.C., censor in 92, and died in 91.

Crassus = M. Licinius Crassus the triumvir, 114–53 B.C., XXXVII.

Crispus = Q. Vibius Crispus, VIII, XIII. A native of Vercellae in Cisalpine Gaul, he enjoyed great influence under Nero, Vespasian, and Domitian, and used his eloquence as a ready weapon of attack. He was twice *consul suffectus*, and survived till about A.D. 93.

Curiones, XXXVII. Three members of this family are known as orators: the father (praetor in 121 B.C.), the son (consul in 76 B.C.), and the grandson, an adherent of Julius Caesar (tribune in 50 B.C.).

DEIOTARUS, XXI. Tetrarch of Galatia, with the title of king, and an adherent of Pompeius. Brutus's speech in his defence was delivered in Caesar's presence at Nicaea, 46 B.C., but failed of its object.

Demosthenes, XII, XV, XVI, XXV, XXXII, XXXVII.

Diodotus, XXX. A Stoic philosopher, who lived in Cicero's house in Rome, and died 59 B.C. He was also well-versed in mathematics and music.

Dolabella = Cn. Cornelius Dolabella, XXXIV. He had been consul in 81 B.C., and four years later was impeached by Caesar for extortion in Macedonia.

Domitius = Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, XXXV. He was censor along with Crassus in 92 B.C.

Domitius, III. The title of a tragedy by Maternus. The hero of the piece was probably L. L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, consul in 54 B.C., and a bitter opponent of Julius Caesar. He was pardoned after the capture of Corfinium, but rejoined the Pompeians and fell at Pharsalus. Others believe that the subject of the tragedy was Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, consul 32 B.C. — the "Enobarbus" of Shakespeare's "Antony and Cleopatra."

Drusus, XXI. A friend and client of Cicero, who defended him when prosecuted by Calvus.

EPHESUS, XV. City of Ionia.

Epicurus, XXXI. Founder of the Epicurean school of philosophy, 341–270 B.C.

Eprius. *See* Marcellus.

Euripides, XII. Tragic poet, 480–406 B.C.

FABIUS JUSTUS = L. Fabius Justus, whose name is inverted to "Justus Fabius" in the first line of the *Dialogus* in accordance with a practice that was common in the Silver Age: a friend of Pliny the younger, as well as of Tacitus, and probably identical with the *consul suffectus* of the year 102 B.C.

Furnius, C., XXI. An orator of the time of Cicero. A son of his was consul, 17 B.C.

Gabinianus, XXVI. — Sex. Julius Gabinianus, a rhetorician of great repute, and like Aper, a native of Gaul. He flourished after the middle of the first century A.D.

Gaius, XVII. — Gaius Caesar Germanicus (Caligula), Roman Emperor from A.D. 37 to 41.

Galba, XVIII and XXV. — Servius Sulpicius Galba, a distinguished orator, contemporary with Laelius and Scipio the younger. He was consul 144 B.C.

Galba, XVII. — Servius Sulpicius Galba, Emperor from June A.D. 68 to January 69.

Gallio, XXVI. — L. Junius Gallio, a friend of Ovid and the elder Seneca, the latter of whom gives him great praise as a rhetorician. He adopted one of Seneca's sons, who took his name and is the Gallio known to us from the New Testament (Acts xviii. 12).

Gracchi, XXVIII and XL. The brothers Tiberius and Gaius.

Gracchus, C. Sempronius, XVIII. and XXVI. The most brilliant orator of his time.

Helvidius, V. — Helvidius Priscus, a Stoic of uncompromising principles, praetor in A.D. 70 and the son-in-law of Paetus Thrasea. *See* Marcellus.

Hermagoras, XIX. Of Temnos, in Mysia, the founder of a new system of rhetoric which Cicero used for his treatise *de Inventione*. He flourished about 160 B.C., and is to be distinguished from a younger rhetorician of the same name, the pupil of Theodorus of Gadara, and a contemporary of Augustus.

Hirtius, XVII. — A. Hirtius, the consul who fell at Mutina, 43 B.C.

Homerus. XII.

Horatius, XX and XXIII.

Hortensius, XVI. The title of a lost dialogue of Cicero, to which he gave the name of his great rival. In it Hortensius seems to have attacked philosophy from the standpoint of an orator, while Cicero defended it.

Hyperides, XII, XVI, XXV. Attic orator, 390–322 B.C.

Jason, IX: the hero whom Medea helped to win the Golden Fleece. He is mentioned in the Dialogue as one of the characters in Maternus's tragedy *Medea*.

Julius. *See* Africanus and Secundus.

Justus. *See* Fabius.

Laelius, C., XXV. Called *Sapiens*, because of his interest in philosophy. He was also a distinguished orator, and the intimate friend of Scipio the younger.

Lentuli. — Cornelii Lentuli, XXXVII. There were no fewer than five members of this family who enjoyed a reputation for oratory in the time of Cicero. They reached the consulship in the years, 72, 71, 57, 56, and 49 B.C.

Linus, XII. Mentioned along with Orpheus as a legendary bard. He was lamented in the old λίνος song, so-called from the refrain αἴ Λίνος, or "woe's me for Linus." All the myths that gather round his name agree in the tradition that he died young.

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Lucanus, xx. — M. Annaeus Lucanus, A.D 39–65, the author of the Pharsalia, an epic poem dealing with the civil war between Caesar and Pompey.

Lucilius, xxiii. — C. Lucilius, 180–102 B.C, the satiric poet whom Horace made to some extent his model.

Lucretius, xxiii. — T. Lucretius Carus, 98–55 B.C., the author of the great didactic poem, *De Rerum Natura*.

Luculli, xxxvii. — Licinii Luculli. The great commander Lucius who conquered Mithridates and was consul in 74 B.C., wrote a history of the Social War in Greek. His brother Marcus was consul in 73.

Lycurgus, xxv. Attic orator, circ. 396–325 B.C.

Lysias, xii and xxv. Attic orator, circ. 450–380 B.C.

MAECENAS, xxvi. — C. Cilnius Maecenas, ob. 8 B.C., the 'prime minister' of Augustus, and the patron of Varius, Virgil, Horace, and Propertius.

Marcellus, v, viii, xiii. — T. Clodius Eprius Marcellus, who gained great influence as a *delator* or informer under Nero, and became *consul suffectus* in A.D. 61. His impeachment of Thrasea Paetus brought him into collision with Thrasea's son-in-law, Helvidius Priscus. After acting as pro-consul in Asia, Marcellus again became *consul suffectus* in A.D. 74, and must therefore have been at the height of his power at the date when the Dialogue is assumed to have taken place. Afterwards, he conspired against Vespasian, and was driven to commit suicide in A.D. 79.

Maternus. — Curiatius Maternus, the poet-pleader who figures as the central personage of the Dialogue. See Introd. pp. 7 and 11.

Menenius Agrippa, xvii and xxi. The author of the famous apologue of the "Belly and its Members," by which in 494 B.C. he induced the plebeians to return from their secession to the Mons Sacer. He figures in Shakespeare's *Coriolanus*.

Messalla, xii, xvii, xviii, xx, xxi. — M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus, 64 B.C.–A.D. 8. Orator, soldier, and statesman. He was consul in 31 B.C. *See* Horace, Odes, III. 21.

Messalla, xiv. — Vipstanus Messalla, probably a descendant of the foregoing, and in any case a man of noble lineage, born about A.D. 46. He commanded a legion for Vespasian, and wrote a history of the struggle with Vitellius. He was also a great orator. For his part in the Dialogue. *See* Introd. p. 8.

Metelli, xxxvii. — Caecilii Metelli. To this family belonged Metellus Celer and Metellus Nepos, the former of whom was consul in 60 B.C., and the latter in 57 B.C. It was Metellus Nepos who attacked Cicero on the expiry of his consulship in 63.

Metrodorus, xxxi. A distinguished follower of Epicurus, 330-277 B.C.

Milo, xxxvii and xxxix. — T. Annius Milo, whom Cicero defended unsuccessfully when he was brought to trial for the death of P. Clodius Pulcher in 52 B.C.

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Mucianus, XXXVII. = C. Licinius Mucianus, the well-known lieutenant of Vespasian, who brought about his elevation to the purple. He was *consul suffectus* in 66, 70 and 72, and is understood to have died in the course of the year 77.

Mucius, XXX. = Q. Mucius Scaevola, surnamed the Augur, circ. 160–88 B.C. He was the friend and son-in-law of Laelius, and the father-in-law of the orator Crassus. The family to which he belonged had a hereditary talent for law. Cicero studied under him when quite a young man, and after his death under his nephew also, Scaevola Pontifex.

Mytilenae, XV. A city in Lesbos.

Nero, XI and XVII. = Nero Claudius Caesar Drusus Germanicus, who reigned from A.D. 54 to 68

Nestor, XVI. Cited by Aper as an ideal example of the oratory of Homeric times.

Nicetes, XV. = Sacerdos Nicetes, a distinguished rhetorician from Smyrna, who had Pliny the younger for a pupil at Rome.

Nicostratus, X. Of Cilicia, a famous athlete in the earlier part of the first century. In A.D. 50, he was proclaimed victor at Olympia on one and the same day for the παγκράτιον and for wrestling.

Nonianus, XXIII. = M. Servilius Nonianus, orator and historian. He was consul A.D. 35 and died A.D. 60.

Orpheus, XII. Mythical bard, and representative of the Thracian cult of Dionysus.

Otho, XVII. = Marcus Salvius Otho, Emperor from January to April A.D. 69.

Ovidius, XII. = P. Ovidius Naso, 43 B.C.–A.D. 17. Of his *Medea* only two lines are extant.

Pacuvius, M., XIX. Roman tragedian, circ. 220–132 B.C.

Pansa, XVII. = C. Vibius Pansa, who fell at Mutina in 43 B.C., along with Hirtius, his colleague in the consulship.

Pedius, Q., XVII. Made *consul suffectus* along with Octavian on August 19, 43 B.C.

Peripatetici, XXXI. Members of the school founded by Aristotle, who wrote on rhetoric, as well as on philosophy.

Philip of Macedon, XVI. Reigned 359–336 B.C.

Philo, XXX. An Academic philosopher, who fled from Athens to Rome during the first Mithridatic war, and taught Cicero philosophy.

Plato, XXXI and XXXII.

Pollio. *See* Asinius.

Pompeius, XXXVII, XXXVIII, XL. = Cn. Pompeius Magnus, the triumvir, 106–48 B.C. He was highly thought of also as an orator and a stylist.

Pomponius. *See* Secundus.

Porcius. *See* Cato.

Quintius, XXXVII. = P. Quintius, defended by Cicero in 81 B.C. on a civil charge. The speech is extant.

Roscius, XX. = Q. Roscius Gallus, a great actor who was also a man of liberal culture. He was on intimate terms with Sulla, Hortensius, as well as with Cicero, who took lessons from him in the

art of declamation, and defended him in an extant oration. He died shortly before 62 B.C.

SACERDOS. *See* Nicetes.

Saleius. *See* Bassus.

Scaurus, XXXIX. = M. Aemilius Scaurus, successfully defended in the year 54 B.C. by six advocates, one of whom was Cicero, on a charge of malversation when praetor in Sardinia two years previously.

Scipio, XL. P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus the elder. For the attacks on him in 187 B.C., in connection with his conduct of the war against Antiochus, *see* Livy, 38, 50 *sqq.*

Secundus, II. = Julius Secundus, the friend and contemporary of Quintilian, a native of Gaul, who enjoyed a high reputation for eloquence. For the part he took in the Dialogue, *see* Introduction p. 9.

Secundus, XIII. = P. Pomponius Secundus, a man of affairs as well as a poet of repute. He was *consul suffectus* in A.D. 44, and defeated the Chatti as legatus in Upper Germany in 50. His friend, Pliny the Elder, wrote his life in two books.

Servilius. *See* Nonianus.

Severus. *See* Cassius.

Sisenna, XXIII. = L. Cornelius Sisenna, 120–67 B.C. He wrote a history of his own time.

Sophocles, XII. The great tragic poet.

Stoici, XXXI. The 'philosophers of the Porch.'

Sulla, XL. = L. Cornelius Sulla, dictator, 82–79 B.C.

TIBERIUS, XVII. = Tiberius Claudius Nero, emperor A.D. 14–37.

Tiro, XVII. = M. Tullius Tiro, Cicero's freedman and biographer.

Torannius, XXI. An otherwise unknown orator.

Tullius, M., XX. Raised an action against one of Sulla's veterans who had taken forcible possession of his villa at Thurii. Cicero acted as his advocate, and delivered two speeches (72 or 71 B.C.) the second of which exists in a fragmentary condition. The other is wholly lost.

Turpio, XX. L. Ambivius Turpio, the most famous actor of his time. He was a contemporary of Cato the censor, in the first half of the second century B.C., and appeared in many of the plays of Terence.

ULIXES, XVI. Cited by Aper as a model of Homeric oratory.

Urbinia, XXXVIII. A Roman lady whose estate became the subject of litigation after her decease.

VARIUS, XII. = L. Varius Rufus, the friend of Virgil and Horace (74–14 B.C.), who had gained a high reputation as an epic poet before he took to tragedy.

Varro, XXIII. = M. Terentius Varro, 116–27 B.C., a man of the widest accomplishments — historian, grammarian, antiquarian, as well as orator.

Vatinius, P., XXI, XXXIV, XXXIX. He was tribune in 59 B.C., when he espoused Caesar's interests, and next year became consul along with Bibulus. He was subsequently accused at least three times, by Calvus, and Cicero, who had originally been on the other side, was induced by Caesar to defend him (54 B.C.).

Vatinius, xi. The cobbler from Beneventum, one of the most disreputable of Nero's favourites, of whom Tacitus gives a famous description in Ann. xv. 34.

Vercellae, viii. City in Cisalpine Gaul.

Vergilius. = P. Vergilius Maro, xii, xiii, xx, xxiii.

Verres, C., xx, xxxvii. The famous, or infamous, governor of Sicily (73–71 B.C.), whose misdeeds were exposed by Cicero in his Verrine orations.

Vespasianus, viii, ix, xvii. = T. Flavius Vespasianus, Roman emperor from Dec. A.D. 69 to 79.

Vibius. *See* Crispus.

Vipstanus, *See* Messalla.

Vitellius, xvii. Aulus Vitellius, emperor from April to December A.D. 69 (or only to 1st July of that year, if we take the date on which Vespasian was saluted as emperor by the army in the East).

Xenophon, xxxi. The well-known Greek historian, 434–355 B.C.